Pl. VIII.
(Frontispiece.)

Chung-khwei destroying spectres.

THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF CHINA

Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect.
Manners, Customs and Social Institutions connected therewith.

BY

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VOLUME VI

BOOK II

ON THE SOUL AND ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

Part IV, The War against Spectres.
Part V, The Priesthood of Animism.

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PART IV.

THE WAR AGAINST SPECTRES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLACE OF DEMONOCRACY AND EXORCISM IN THE TAOIST SYSTEM.

I now arrive at an important point in the extensive task which I have imposed upon myself. Having given in the preceding volumes a picture of the basis of the Religious System of China, definable as *animistic*, I have now to undertake the description of the structure which in course of ages has arisen on that basis. Animism evidently was actually the Religion of China in the dawn of her history; it still is the fundamental and principal part of her Religion at present.

The supply of material, from which Chinese writings have allowed us to build up the preceding volumes, enables us to define clearly the principles and main features of that animistic religion. Without any reservation we must call it *universalistic*. Its starting-point is an animated Universe, not created, but spontaneously creating by the operation of its Tao, composed of two souls, the Yang and the Yin; the Yang represents light, warmth, production, and life, as also the celestial sphere from which all these blessings emanate; the Yin is darkness, cold, death, and the earth, which, unless animated by the Yang or heaven, is dark, cold, dead. The Yang and the Yin are divided into an infinite number of spirits respectively good and bad, called shen and kwei; every man and every living being contains a shen and a kwei, infused at birth, and departing at death, to return to the Yang and the Yin. Thus man with his dualistic soul is a microcosmos, born from the Macrocosmos spontaneously. Even every object is animated, as well as the Universe of which it is a part.

A shen, being a part of the beneficent half of the Universe, is naturally considered to be a good spirit, a god; a kwei, belonging to the opposite half, is a spirit of evil, a spectre, a demon. It is then evident that there can be nothing good in the world but that which comes from the shen, and no evil but which the kwei cause or inflict.

The Universe being in all its parts animated by such gods and spectres, the system of Universalistic Animism necessarily and naturally is thoroughly *polytheistic* and *polydemonistic*. Gods or shen are *e. g.* heaven, the sun, moon, and stars, wind, rain, clouds, thunder, fire; the earth under the influence of heaven; seas, rivers, mountains, rocks, stones, animals, plants, objects; in particular also the souls of men. And devils swarm everywhere, in numbers incalculable.

The operation of the Yang and the Yin is the cosmic alternations of warmth and cold, light and darkness, that is to say, the annual and daily rotation of Nature, always regular, never deviating from its invariable course. It is the Tao, Way or Course, the Order of the Universe. And the shen and kwei, being the components of the Yang and Yin, perform in this Universal Order the leading part in the distribution of good and evil. Their influence on human fate is as dominant as that of Nature itself. But Yang is above Yin, just as heaven is above earth. Heaven, the greatest yang power, then is the chief shen or god, who controls all spectres and their doings, and it is one of the great dogmata of China's theology that no spectres are entitled to harm man but by the authorisation of Heaven or its silent consent. Nevertheless there are myriads who wantonly, of their own accord, without regard to that li 理 or law of the Tao (cf. page 431) do distress the world with their evil deeds. But spectres decidedly should be, and mostly are, the sole and general agents of Heaven for the dispensing of evil among men, and also in like manner are agents of the gods who, under Heaven's sway, administer the world. Demonomy or Demonocracy, limited by Heaven and the gods, then is an indispensable chief element in the Chinese system of Religion.

All shen or gods, being parts of the Yang, are the natural enemies of the kwei, because these are the constituents of the Yin; indeed, the Yang and the Yin are engaged in an eternal struggle, manifested by alternation of day and night, warmth and cold, summer and winter. The worship and propitiation of the gods, which is the main part of China's Religion, has no higher purpose

than that of inducing the gods to protect man against the world of evil, or, by descending among men, to drive spectres away by their intimidating presence. This cult implies invocation of happiness; but as happiness merely means absence of misfortune which the spectres cause, such a cult is tantamount to the disarming of spectres by means of the gods.

Thus it is that the belief in spectres is not in China, as among us, banished to the domain of superstition or even nursery tales. It is a corner-stone of China's universalistic religion, as true as the existence of the Yin, as true then as the existence of the Tao or Order of the World. But for this doctrine and its consequences, China's cult of gods would be rather useless and meaningless, and certainly would show itself in forms quite different from those which it possesses. We have demonstrated (pp. 436 *sqq.*) that the demonistic dogma also is a main basis of morality. Indeed, the Order of the Universe, unchangeable, never deviating from its right path, creating and protecting all men equally, cannot but deal with them with like impartiality and justice, punishing the bad, who depart from the line of natural rectitude, by means of the k w e i, with never failing certainty. This dogma acts as a deterrent to vice; and thus Demonism, Demonomy or Demonocracy, the lowest element in religion, has, as a source of ethics, fulfilled an important mission to many thousands of millions whom Providence has appointed to live and die on Eastern Asiatic soil. Certainly this may be regarded as a phenomenon worthy the attention of students of religions.

Now we have taken our rapid survey of what may be said to be the framework of China's system of Religion. We may call it *Taoistic*, since it consists of the doctrine that the world is ruled by s h e n and k w e i evolved from the Yang and the Yin, the vicissitudes of whose operations constitute the Tao or Order of the World. The religion built up around that frame we must consequently likewise call Taoistic — or Taoism.

We have stated that the main function of this religion consists in muzzling the k w e i, also by stimulating the operation of the s h e n. Taoism may then actually be defined as Exorcising Polytheism, a cult of the gods with which Eastern Asiatic imagination has filled the Universe, connected with a highly developed system of magic, consisting for a great part in Exorcism. This cult and magic is, of course, principally in the hands of priests. But, besides, the lay world, enslaved to the intense belief in the perilous omnipresence of spectres, is engaged every day in a restless defensive and offensive

war against those beings. That war, which we now have to describe, is guided by a strategy invented by the thinking faculties of the people, by its sophistry passing for philosophy; by tactics which its ancestors have declared in writing to be useful and effective. In all ages this war has had its leaders: men of wit, magicians, priests, possessing shuh 術 or "arts, magic", or wise and occult fang 方 or fah 法, "expedients, methods" of defence or attack, self-invented, or inherited from older generations, by means of which spectres might be paralyzed, put to flight, or even destroyed or killed. A study of those means and methods, of that exorcising magic, is a study in national philosophy and popular intellect, and at the same time a study in the boundless sway which superstition exercises over all minds in China, from the most unlearned man in the street up to ministers and emperors.

Spectres being the chief causation of disease and plague, their ejection or expulsion was ever a prominent element in the healing art. This art may have grown out in other directions or branches, but the great demonistic element re-appears in it everywhere to this day. This volume will therefore also conduct the reader into the field of medicine and promotion of public health.

Here the reader may be disposed to ask whether the war against spectres is consistent with the dogma that spectres are punishing agents of Heaven; for is man's exorcising capacity so powerful that it may thwart Heaven's will? Paganism is logical, and its logic does not belie itself when it gives its answer to this question. Exorcism, it says, is of little or no avail against spectres who do their injurious work with the authorisation or command of Heaven, or of any god who, like that of Walls and Moats or that of the Eastern Mountain, exercises justice over man under Heaven's superintendence. Such spectres are ching or twan (cf. page 467), existing and working under the auspices of the Tao or Universal Order; their attacks are therefore to be borne with resignation as yun 運 or ming 命, fate or destiny, and the only means of defence are redemption of guilt by acts of merit, or conciliation of the Tao of Heaven by self-humiliation, reverence, sacrifices, or other religious acts performed either with or without sacerdotal help. But there are also countless unruly spectres, defined as sié or yin (cf. page 467), which harm men illegally with wanton malignity, or for the purpose of extorting food from them by intimidation (pp. 793 *sqq.*). These as a rule are timorous and shy, not being

backed by Heaven and its Tao, and therefore not proof against good exorcising objects and methods, which should be freely used against them by every sagacious man.

The exorcising arts of the Chinese, their origin and history, will be described by us principally from their own books. It will therefore often be uncertain whether those arts actually prevail still, or have become obsolete. But undoubtedly we may admit, that in general popular practices and customs described by native authors survive in some part or other of the immense empire, the bigoted conservatism, for which the Chinese are so notorious, warranting imitation of almost every act which is ascribed to ancestors.

CHAPTER II.

ANTIQUITY OF EXORCISM. TERMINOLOGY.

Exorcising magic is, no doubt, very old in China, and probably born not much later than her belief in spectres; which is almost equivalent to saying that it is as old as her people. There exists, however, but very little documentary evidence for the ways in which they were expelled there before the Christian era. In the *Li ki* we have evidence of exorcism on a large scale in the time of Confucius, which we shall discuss in Chapter VII. We have already mentioned (Book I, pp. 36, 41, 42) certain Invokers and wu, armed with peach-branches and reeds when accompanying rulers on their visits of condolence, in order to protect them from spectral evil. In the *Cheu li* we read of "male wu, who in winter sent away (?) from the "halls in all imaginable directions, in numbers countless and incal-"culable" [1], which statement is generally accepted as referring to evil or evil spirits; further, that work speaks of "female wu charged with the performance of exorcism at fixed times annually" [2], as also of persons driving fang-liang spectres out of graves at funerals (Book I, p. 162).

In writings of the Han dynasty or relating to this epoch we find quite an abundance of detail on the subject. We even have a short contemporary dissertation flatly refuting the necessity or use of exorcism, and furnishing proof that this art was then systematically indulged in on a large scale. It was made by Wang Ch'ung, from whose writings, which are a most valuable ancient ethnographical source, the reader has already found many extracts in this work. The document also draws a good picture of certain general notions of that time respecting the spirit world: —

"The world places confidence in sacrifices, saying that they who

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1 男巫冬堂贈無方無算. Ch. 25, l. 39.

2 女巫掌歲時祓除. Ch. 25, l. 40.

"offer them may be sure to become happy; and likewise it gives "its approbation to exorcisms, pretending that these remove evil. "The first ceremony performed at exorcising is the setting out of a "sacrifice, which we may compare with an entertainment of guests "among living men; and after the savoury food has been set out "hospitably for their entertainment and they have eaten of it, they are "chased away with swords and sticks! If these spirits have knowledge "of such treatment, they surely will stand their ground, accept the "fight, and refuse to go; and if they are susceptible to indignation, "they would merely cause misfortune; and if they have no knowledge, "they cannot possibly cause any evil. Accordingly exorcising is lost "labour, and no harm is caused by its omission.

"Besides it is disputed whether spirits have a material form. "Admitting that they have form, it must be that of a living man, "and as a living man is susceptible to indignation, they certainly "will (if exorcised) do harm to man. But if they have no material "shape, driving them away is like driving out vapour and clouds: "clouds and vapour cannot be expelled.

"And since it cannot even be ascertained whether they have a "shape, we are not in a position to guess their feelings. For what "purpose do spirits gather in human dwellings? If disposed to murder, "they will, when exorcised, simply abscond and hide themselves, but "return as soon as the chase is over. And if they occupy our homes "without murderous purposes, they will not be injurious, even though "not expelled [1].

---

[1] 世信祭祀、謂祭祀必有福、又然解除、謂解除必去凶。解除初禮先設祭祀、比夫祭祀若生人相賓客矣、先爲賓客設膳、食已驅以刃杖。鬼神如有知必住止、戰不肯徑去、若懷恨反而爲禍、如無所知不能爲凶。解之無益、不解無損。

且人謂鬼神何如狀哉。如謂鬼有形像、形象生人、生人懷恨必將害人。如無形像與烟雲同驅逐、雲烟亦不能除。

形既不可知、心亦不可圖。鬼神集止人宅欲何求乎。如勢欲殺人、當驅逐之時避人隱匿、驅逐之止則復還立故處。如不欲殺人寄託人家、雖不驅逐、亦不爲害。

"When a man of high position is going out, and the crowd "flocks to the spot to see him, filling up the street, then, when "those who thronged to the front are driven away by his lictors, "they will hurry back, but as soon as the lictors retire, they will "return to the place where they stood; the lictors cannot keep "them off except by keeping watch for the whole day. What then "is our conclusion? If those who, eager to be among the spectators, "come back unless driven away for good, so also spirits — if "they are like men — will, if they desire to occupy a house, act "just as such inquisitive spectators. The lookers-on do not retire "unless the lictors, after driving them away, keep watch for a long "time; likewise, if exorcists do not do their work the whole year "round, spectres do not go. They are cast out after they have finished "their meal; but if those ejected spectres thereupon come back, how "shall we repulse them?

"When grain is being dried in the yard, and fowls and sparrows "pick it up, they decamp as soon as the owner chases them or "throws anything at them, but no sooner does he leave them alone "than they come back; they will not be kept in check unless he "keeps watch the whole day. If spectres have spiritual power, they "will neither be expelled by exorcism, nor hindered; and should "they have no such power, they, like fowls and sparrows, will not "be kept in check unless driven away incessantly.

"Should a tiger or wolf break into the capital, archers will sur- "round the beast; they may kill it, but cannot do away with the "evil which caused the beast to come. And when rebels or robbers "assail a city and are attacked by government troops, these may "repel them, but cannot possibly annul the ill which caused their "coming. Tigers and wolves come because government is neglectful "of its duties; rebels and robbers appear when sedition is rife "among the people; and spirits crowd together because the lives "of men are drawing to a close. Now the most complete system "of exorcism and expulsion of spirits can no more ensure banish- "ment of misfortune and prolongation of lives than the killing of "tigers or wolves can undo the effects of misgovernment, or the "repulse of rebels can produce good rule among the people.

"When a man is extremely ill and sees spectres approach, if of a "courageous disposition he will brandish a sword or grasp a stick "and fight them; — but after one or two engagements he drops "his hands and submits to his fate, realizing that otherwise he will "have to struggle ceaselessly. The spectres driven away by exorcism

"do not differ from those which sick people see, nor do exorcisms "differ from fights; consequently, just as a sick man fights and "yet the spectres do not go, so house-owners may expel spectres, "but, beyond all doubt, they do not leave. We may then ask: of "what practical use is it to cleanse a house of spectres? [1].

"And even admitting that misfortune is removed by it, exorcism "is of no use, for indeed, the beings which we exorcise are spectres "abiding in our homes as guests. The household gods are twelve

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[1] 貴人之出也萬民並觀塡街滿巷、爭進在前士卒驅之則走而却、士卒還去卽復其處、士卒立守終日不離僅能禁止。何則。欲在於觀不爲壹驅還也、使鬼神與生人同、有欲於宅中猶萬民有欲於觀也。士卒驅逐不久立守、則觀者不却也、然則驅逐鬼者不極一歲、鬼神不去。今驅逐之終食之間則舍之矣、舍之鬼復還來、何以禁之。

暴穀於庭、雞雀啄之、主人驅彈則走、縱之則來、不終日立守雞雀不禁。使鬼神乎、不爲驅逐去止、使鬼不神乎、與雞雀等不常驅逐不能禁也。

虎狼入都、弓弩巡之、雖殺虎狼、不能除虎狼所爲來之患。盜賊攻城官軍擊之、雖却盜賊、不能滅盜賊所爲至之禍。虎狼之來應政失也、盜賊之至起世亂也、然則鬼神之集爲命絶也。殺虎狼却盜賊不能使政得世治、然則盛解除驅鬼神不能使凶去而命延。

病人困篤見鬼之至、性猛剛者挺劍操杖與鬼戰鬬、戰鬬一再錯指受服、知不服必不終也。夫解除所驅逐鬼與病人所見鬼無以殊也、其驅逐之與戰鬬無以異也、病人戰鬬鬼猶不去、宅主解除鬼神必不離。由此言之解除宅者何益於事。

"in number: the Blue Dragon, the White Tiger, and ten more. That "Dragon, Tiger and other valiant gods are celestial spirits fitting "in the Universal Order, so that (where they are) neither flying "shi, nor flowing hiung (see page 683) venture wantonly to "gather, any more than evil-disposed lodgers pluck up courage to "plot against their host if he is brave and strong. When the twelve "gods allow spectres to dwell in a house, and the owner casts these "out, I say that he chases away the guests of the twelve gods "and irritates the latter: is this a way to ensure happiness? If the "twelve gods are not present, it is because there are no flying shi "and no flowing hiung; against what then, in the absence of gods "and of evil, is the aid of exorcism used? what then is thereby expelled?

"Exorcism is a ceremonial institution transmitted from ancient "times for the purpose of expelling pestilence. Chwen-süh had three "sons, who died at their birth; one took up his abode in the "waters of the Kiang (Yangtszĕ) and became the fever-demon; "one dwelled in Joh-shui and became the wang-liang demon, "and the third settled in nooks and corners for the dissemination "of pestilence among men (cf. p. 499). This is the reason why "at the end of the year, when mankind kept holiday, the spectres "of pestilence were driven out (of the houses) and happiness was "imported by sending away the old and bringing in the new. This "has been imitated by every generation, and called exorcism into "existence; but even that expulsion of pestilence is quite out of "place as a ceremonial institution. Indeed, the virtues of Yao and "Shun must be cultivated, then the world under heaven will enjoy "general peace and rest, and all calamities whatsoever will be dis-"sipated and annihilated; then, even though plague be not driven "away, plague-spectres will not stay. But if rulers behave like a "Kieh and a Cheu (pp. 116 and 679), the world between the seas "will be disturbed by rebellions, and hundreds of misfortunes will "spring up all at once; and then we may drive away pestilence every "day, yet the spectres which cause it will nevertheless make their "appearance. It is decaying generations which cherish a belief "in spectres; it is a foolish humanity which is bent on seeking "happiness (by exorcism). The last generations of the Cheu dynasty "believed in spectres, and offered sacrifices in order to find happiness "and help; their foolish rulers, whose minds were misled, did "not take heed to their own behaviour, and as their good acts "grew more infrequent, the more unstable became their thrones. "The conclusion is, that man has his own happiness in his own

"hands, and that it is not in the hands of spectres, being deter-"mined by his virtues, not by his sacrifices" [1].

As the war against spectres is so old, a variety of terms denoting it have arisen. The following nearly all occur in writings of the Han dynasty or previous to it:

攘 jang, to drive off, repel, or fling back. It occurs in the sense of exorcism in the writings of Lü Puh-wei. In books of the Han dynasty and ever since it mostly has the form 禳, which may denote sacrifices or other religious ceremonies for averting evil.

祓 fuh, occurring in the *Cheu li* followed by 除 (see p. 934, note 2). It is sometimes written 韍.

除 ch'u, to remove.

解 kiai, to dispel or dissolve.

散 san, to dissipate, disperse, scatter.

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[1] 信其凶去、不可用也、且夫所除宅中客鬼也。宅中住神有十二焉、青龍白虎列十二位。龍虎猛神天之正鬼也、飛尸流凶不敢妄集、猶主人猛勇、姦客不敢闚也。有十二神舍之、宅主驅逐、名爲去十二神之客、恨十二神之意、安能得吉。如無十二神則亦無飛尸流凶、無神無凶解除何輔、驅逐何去。

解逐之法緣古逐疫之禮也。昔顓頊氏有子三人、生而皆亡、一居江水爲虐鬼、一居若水爲魍魎、一居樞隅之間主疫病人。故歲終事畢驅逐疫鬼、因以送舊迎新內吉也。世相倣效、故有解除、夫逐疫之法亦禮之失也。行堯舜之德、天下大平、百災消滅、雖不逐疫、疫鬼不住。行桀紂之行海內擾亂、百禍並起、雖日逐疫、疫鬼猶來。衰世好信鬼、愚人好求福。周之季世信鬼修祀以求福助、愚主心惑不顧自行、功猶不立、治猶不定。故在人、不在鬼、在德、不在祀. *Lun heng*, ch. 25, 解除篇.

驅 [敺] khü, 却 or 卻 khioh, 逐 chuh, to expel, repel, or drive off.

去 or 祛 khü, and 辟 pʿih, to drive away.

送 sung, and 遣 khien, to send away.

治 chi, 制 chi, to rule or govern.

禦 yü, to repulse, to resist, to defend against.

禁 kin, to frustrate or place obstacles in the way of.

伏 fuh, and 服 fuh, to subdue.

鎮 chen, to hold in subjection, to reduce to obedience.

戰 chen, to war.

勅 chʿih, to command.

劾 hoh, to prosecute and punish; to arraign.

厭 [壓] yen, to repress or suppress, to put down; often, though incorrectly, written 魘, spectral pressure, or nightmare.

厭勝 yen-shing, to suppress and conquer. This term also denotes sorcery, if the power exercised on the spectres is used for evil ends (see p. 887).

Such terms may, of course, be followed by words denoting spectres or their influences and the ills which they cause, for which we may refer to pp. 466—468, and 683.

CHAPTER III.

LIGHT AND FIRE, FIREWORKS, AND NOISE.

The great war which the whole of China has, throughout all ages, waged against the demon-world, was especially conducted on the great principle that spectres belong to the Yin or the dark half of the Universe, so that the most efficacious arms that may be used against them are those which are derived from the Yang or the luminous half. The Yang, in fact, in the daily and annual course of Nature entirely conquers the Yin with never failing certainty. It therefore was always the task of thinkers, sages, and intelligent men to find things which might be deemed to be such arms, and to teach man the use thereof. They have pushed their researches in that direction extremely far, with never relaxing zeal and astounding success, be this success merely theoretical in our cynical eyes.

Attention could not fail to be directed first and foremost to light and fire. Light and fire, being integral parts of the Yang, have, indeed, necessarily to be considered as no less destructive to the demon-world than the Yang is to the Yin; they are then dangers to spectres decreed by the Tao or Order of the Universe, by Nature itself. This theory raises the sun, the very source of universal light and fire, to the dignity of chief expeller and destroyer of demons. On the other hand it causes the night, especially its middlemost part, to be considered as the time in which the demon-world is dominant, and spectres freely prowl about. It teaches that the dawn is the moment which forces them to betake themselves to a headlong and general flight, or which paralyzes their power. These ideas, the existence of which has come to the foreground in some of our folklore specimens (*e. g.* pp. 620, 730, 750), are naturally and constantly nourished by the uneasiness which darkness provokes in feeble minds, and which converts itself into fears nourished by every mysterious noise, but dissipated by the breaking day.

But also if kindled by man, light and fire have the same effect, though to a less extent. The tale on pages 791—792 has showed

us, that this was a prevailing conviction in the first centuries of our era. We have seen on page 190 that in those times fire was deemed able to compel old fox-devils, disguised as men, to show their real forms and thus render themselves defenceless, especially if that fire was burning wood of trees old like themselves and animated by shen or Yang substance. Again, in a tale of the fifth century (pp. 127—129) we have seen a man repelling his son, whom he deemed to be a spectre, by means of a fire kindled before his house-door, and learned that this ambiguous man-ghost was shy of sunlight and fire. In the spectre-panic of A. D. 781 people kept up flaming fires at night (p. 477); etc.

The conviction that light and fire are effective arms against spectres shows itself in the China of our own time by a general aversion from going out in the dark without a burning torch or lighted lantern of paper, especially if grave or graveyards have to be passed (cf. p. 687). On leaving a house of death after a visit of condolence, people are in the habit of stepping across a fire (Book I, p. 32), evidently to be purged from the sié connected with the death, which may be the shah of which we have treated on pp. 769 *sqq.*, stating that they were averted by fire at funerals as early as the sixth century. Finally we have stated (B. I, p. 137) that mandarins who attend a coroner's inquest are wont to pass through a straw-fire, and repeat this exorcism on re-entering their Yamen, and moreover that they do the same thing after super-intending an execution, lest the headless ghost may injure them (B. I, p. 355).

The commencement of the year in China, the beginning of spring, is the revival of light and warmth, which then are setting to work energetically to purify the Universe from the influences of the Yin or cold, darkness and death, to which the spectral world belongs. It is then the duty of man, who, according to the great Taoist principle, has to live and behave in conformity with Nature, to lend Nature a helping hand, that is to say, to devote himself to exorcism. And he accomplishes this task, as Nature itself, by means of light and fire. The Calendar of Customs in King and Ch'u, which (see p. 362) was writtten in the sixth century, says: "In the "first month of the year, on the wei days, torches of reed are used "at night to light the inside of wells and privy-pits, whereupon "hundreds of spectres run away" [1]. It is, indeed, in such places in

[1] 正月未日夜蘆苣火照井厠中則百鬼走. *King Ch'u sui-shi ki.*

particular, into which the sun cannot pour its rays, that man ought to do the purifying work artificially.

Much more was done in that month to the same end. In that Calendar we still read: "On the first day of the first month "people rise at cock-crow, and the first thing they do is to explode "bamboo in the courtyard by means of fire, in order to drive away "the hill-sao and other spirits of evil" [1]. This evidently means that fire was kindled and bamboo thrown into it to heighten the terrifying effect of the flames by the crackling noise and the explosions caused by the pressure of the heated air inside. This custom is also mentioned in the *Shen i king*, as we have seen on page 500.

In a voluminous book, entitled *Yueh ling kwang i* [2], "Amplification of the Monthly Rescripts", P'ing Ying-king [3], a learned officer who took his tsin-shi degree in 1592, wrote: "In the "last night of the year bamboo is exploded in fires throughout the "night until morning, in order to shake and arouse the Yang of "the spring and thus to remove and dissipate the evil work of "the sié. Men in our days make a sport of it, and waste their "money in attempts to outvie each other therein, so that the funda-"mental meaning of the matter is nearly lost" [4].

It is the undisputed opinion among the Chinese that this p'ao-choh [5] or "bamboo exploded in fire", generally thus denominated by the people and authors, has for many ages denoted a kind of squib of very thick paper, in which some gunpowder is enclosed, and exploded by means of a fuse passing through the wad. Hundreds, even thousands of such crackers, fastened close together by their fuses to a single long match, may, by igniting the latter, be exploded in rapid succession, producing a loud popping noise. The question at what time the transition from empty bamboo tubes to these fireworks took place is probably the same as the question in which age we should place the introduction of the knowledge of gunpowder into China. It must for the present remain unsolved;

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[1] 正月一日鷄鳴而起、先於庭前爆竹以辟山臊惡鬼.

[2] 月令廣義. [3] 馮應京; second name Kho-ta 可大.

[4] 除夕爆竹通宵達旦所以震發春陽、除消邪厲。今人遂以爲戲而傾費爭雄、殊失本意. Ch.20, l.19.

[5] 爆竹.

but that the Chinese were the inventors of that explosive compound is an unsupported conjecture [1].

The firing of crackers on the last day and night of the year is general in China. Every family, even the poorest which can afford to spend a few coins for smoke and noise, indulges in this ear-splitting work, so that the rattling at that time in populous quarters is a real torment to non-Chinese nerves. Long strings hanging from balconies and eaves down to the pavement crackle for half an hour or longer, but most people content themselves with strings of more modest dimensions, fired from the end of a stick. This noise is continued, though less extravagantly, for some days, when ceremonies and sacrifices are celebrated which custom requires to be attended by it.

If we peruse what the several special works on provinces, departments and districts (see Book I, p. 746) have to tell about manners and customs observed in the last day and night of the year, we find that they mention with striking unanimity not only the firing of crackers, but also large bonfires and torches in premises and courtyards. They denote such exorcism by various names, as "to burn evil influences" [2]; "to burn or illuminate the year" [3]; "to burn a pine-basin" [4], *i. e.* a circle of pine-logs; etc. Mention is made of incense and other odoriferous disinfectants thrown into those fires. Further we learn from those works, that the felicity evoked by all those expedients is enhanced by mutual congratulations and good wishes, and by exclamations uttered by many voices at a time, such as "no sorrow through the front door, no sorrow through the side doors; purification and pacification of this world, and no afflictions for the people" [5]. People sit up all the night around the fire, spending the time in music, chess-playing, eating and drinking; they call this "to sit around the fire-stove" [6], or "to guard the year" [7], or "to see the new year in" [8]. Finally we read of exorcising noise made with copper trumpets, gongs, conches, drums, and so forth.

Indeed, if the Chinese increase the exorcising power of fire by causing it to produce noise, it is clear that they must consider all noise to be a defence against demonry, provided it be harsh

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1 This question has been amply investigated by Mayers in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1869—70, page 73, in a treatise entitled: On the Introduction and Use of Gunpowder and Fire-arms among the Chinese.

2 焚祟. 3 烘歲 or 照歲. 4 燒松盆.

5 大戶無憂、小戶無憂、清平世界、黎民無愁.

6 圍爐. 7 守歲. 8 迎歲.

Pl. IX.

Gong, cymbals, trumpet, drum.

and loud; the more so, as what frightens man must frighten spectres equally well. We have seen on pp. 476 and 477 that in spectre-panics of the years 564 and 781 people vehemently beat on metal objects and wooden boards; and on pp. 482 and 782 we have read that in the panics of 1557 and 1476 they used gongs and drums. We have also stated (p. 532) that Amoy sailors at sea drive away the terrible Pissing Woman by the firing of crackers and blunderbusses, and (p. 746) that corpse-spectres are greatly afraid of the noise of brass instruments.

The chief instrument for the production of exorcising noise is the gong [1]. This well known circular plate of brass (see Pl. IX) is actually a characteristic feature of China, resounding throughout the empire every day, especially in summer, when a rise in the death rate induces an increase in devil-expelling activity. Clashing of cymbals of brass, and rattling of drums of wood and leather (Pl. IX) intensify its useful effects. Very often small groups of men and even women are beating on gongs, cymbals and drums for a succession of hours. No protest is heard from their neighbours, no complaint that they disturb their night's rest; such savage music then must either sound agreeable to Chinese ears, or be heard with gratitude as a meritorious work, gratuitously performed by benevolent folks who have at heart the private and public weal and health.

Drums have existed in China in very ancient times; which cannot seem strange, seeing that so many savage tribes possess them. They are mentioned in almost all the Classics, and the fact that they are denoted by a character [2] which to this day is admitted to be a radical or primitive hieroglyph, is a proof of their great antiquity. From the *Cheu li* we learn, that they were used at sacrifices to the gods and spirits, and in armies, and for the stimulation or direction of menials and workmen; further at eclipses of the sun or moon, etc.; they had various forms, denoted by various names. Nowhere in that book, nor in the Classics are they expressly mentioned as implements for expulsion of demons, but this does not, of course, exclude the possibility of their having been used for such a purpose from the night of time. Under the Han Dynasty they were carried by singers of exorcising formulae at devil-expelling ceremonies (see page 976).

Cymbals [3] are only mentioned in books of later times. They are confessedly borrowed from western barbarians, or from the Man

1 鑼. 2 鼓. 3 鈸.

or aborigines of south China, now almost extinct. This may also be the case with the gong, which at any rate cannot make pretence to a classical origin any more than the long devil-dispelling trumpets of brass (Pl. IX), used in funeral processions (Book I, p. 155) and, as we shall see on page 982, in processions portending to expel spectres of disease.

In China generally and in South Fuhkien in particular it is an established custom to let off crackers throughout the year at every sacrifice to the gods. It is, in fact, deemed salutary and even necessary to exorcise on such occasions the spirits of the dark, lest they counteract, or possibly destroy, the good effects which the ceremony derives from the beatific presence of the gods. Especially when, in the hot season, cholera or other epidemic is rife, the orgy of cracker-firing breaks forth, preferably raging between sundown and midnight. At such times, processions long or short are moving through the streets with torch-light and lanterns to expel the devils of the pestilence, as also with soldiers blowing on long trumpets, or firing muskets at intervals; for if fire-crackers compel spectres to make themselves scarce, how great then will be the panic created amongst them by volleys of fire-locks, even though the cartridges be blank!

We can hardly doubt that fire has been a sovereign remedy against spectres of disease and other evil from very remote antiquity; yet we seek in vain for documentary evidence on this head. Only one passage in pre-Christian literature seems to point to it: "The "officer charged with kindling fire", thus we read in the *Cheu li*, "is directed to promulgate the ordinances respecting fire. In the four "seasons he changes the fires in the kingdom, in order to afford "help against the diseases of the seasons" [1]. Chinese scholars always have manifested uncertainty in determinating this official custom, but they generally admit that those fires were of different kinds of wood; which is not of much interest to us.

We may attach more interest to the question whether medical art in China has taken advantage of the devil-expelling properties of fire. Cauterizing the sick is, in fact, recommended in the *Su wen*, the oldest book on medicine, in close connection with acupuncture by means of needles hot or cold. That art is denoted by the characters 灼, 炙, 燔 and 焠; which mean roasting or burning.

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[1] 司爟掌行火之政令。四時變國火以救時疾.
Ch. 30, l. 17.

It is mostly performed with n g a i [1], artemisia, moxa, mugwort, a practice evidently extending over many ages, for in the Calendar of King and Ch^{c}u we read: "On the fifth day of the fifth month "the four classes of the people pluck artemisia, and make images "thereof in human form, which they hang above the doors, to drive "away poisonous air. Tsung Ts^{c}ih, also named Wen-tu, while gathering "artemisia on the fifth of the fifth month before the crowing of "the cock, saw such a plant in human shape; he grasped it, and "took it with him, and used it with good effect for cauterizing" [2]. Notice that the plant owed its efficacy to the time when it was plucked: a day denoting the midsummer festival, when light and fire of the Universe are in their apogee.

At present, as probably in all previous ages, cauterizing is performed by means of short, dry stalks of moxa wood, steeped in hemp-oil, which are glued on boils previously wetted, or on other parts affected by disease or demoniacal influence, and ignited, so that they burn away into the skin. We cannot feel surprised that fire which is borrowed directly from the sun is to be preferred for the purpose; indeed in Li Shi-chen's standard work on medicine we read as follows: "The fire used in cauterizing with mugwort ought "to be fire really obtained from the sun by means of a sun-mirror "or fire-pearl (lens?) exposed to the sun. Next in efficacy is fire "obtained by boring into h w a i wood, and only in cases of emergency, "or when it is difficult to procure such fire, it may be taken from "a lamp of pure hempseed oil, or from a wax taper" [3].

Cauterisation is, of course, applied in the first place in demoniacal diseases with which the reader has been acquainted on pp. 683 *sqq.* In the old medical work ascribed to Koh Hung it is stated, that the five s h i or corpse-maladies (p. 684) should be cured "by fourteen "cauteries applied three inches behind the nipples, with a male patient "on the left side, and a female on the right; if the cauteries are

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1 艾.

2 五月五日四民採艾以爲人、懸門戶上、以禳毒氣。按宗測字文度以五月五日鷄未鳴時採艾、見似人處攬而取之、用灸有驗. *King Ch^{c}u sui-shi ki.*

3 凡灸艾火者宜用陽燧火珠承日取太陽眞火。其次則鑽槐取火爲良、若急卒難備、卽用眞麻油燈或蠟燭火. *Pen-ts^{c}ao kang muh*, ch. 6, l. 7.

"constantly renewed and increased, a change in the condition "of the patient will set in"[1]. Cauteries should also be applied, according to the same book, below the heart and on the fingers, and the patient should be scratched under his heart and given albumen to swallow. And with regard to epilepsy, trance or swoon, which the Chinese are wont to define as spectre-blows or strokes of evil, Koh Hung says: "Patients struck by a spectre must be burned with three cauteries one inch below the navel"[2]. Later medical authorities of the highest order prescribe fifty cauteries on the stomach when the patient has been struck by evil; three under every finger-nail or a hundred on the shoulder in case of sudden attacks; one or more on the loins or three above the navel at a devil's stroke. Cauterisation ought to be performed in any case of the five corpse-diseases, either to the right or left of the nipples, from two to seven caustics to be applied on each thumb, or ten below the heart; etc.[3].

Medical art then adopts no half-hearted measures against the spectres which cause all those complaints. Even babies in convulsions are treated in this cruel way. Surgeons at the same time have recourse to pricking such little sufferers with needles. They tie a red cord around their elbows, pass it over their back with some mysterious windings, and allow the glowing bits of moxa charcoal to do their work within the nostrils or under the heart, or on the forehead, but especially under the chin and the jaws, as also on the cheeks, to prevent lock-jaw. Caustics are further applied on the big toes of the patient, at the roots of his nails, nay even in his navel, while bystanders scratch him. The number of spots pricked or cauterized is increased according to the age of the patient.

Here again are some words of Koh Hung, the great medical sage, transmitted to this day by his own standard work: "My recipe "for curing sudden madness connected with utterance of spectre-"language, is this: prick the patient with a needle under the nails "of his big toes. Here is another recipe: tie his hands firmly "together with the rope of the cooking-pot, and while holding fast "his elbows, apply cauteries on his right and left flank, seven in

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1 灸乳後三寸十四壯、男左、女右、不止更加壯數差. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 6.

2 鬼擊灸臍下一寸三壯. Ch. 1, § 4.

3 T S, sect. 藝術, ch. 348.

"all; he then will immediately call out in spectral language the "surname and name of the spectre, and beg to have the cauteries "removed; now prudently interrogate him (*i. e.* the spectre), and "untie his hands. As long as the patient sometimes wails, weeps, "moans and pants, he is afflicted by demons; as soon as he has "no more fits of madness, he should be treated according to the "recipes against sié" [1]. And Sun Szĕ-moh, a no less famous medical prophet, wrote: "When a patient in a fit of madness wants to run "away, or if he thinks himself in a high position or learned, or "calls himself a god or a saint — in all those cases cauterisation "is to be applied, and he will be cured for ever" [2].

Koh Hung also instructed posterity that victims of nightmare in its very worst form should be cured in the same wise. "In cases "of sudden nightmare, should the patient not awake, twenty-one "cauteries are to be applied under his feet at his big toes, and "between his hairs" [3]. It seems at first sight illogical to hear at the same time this great man strictly forbid such victims to be approached with light (see page 700); but we should bear in mind that "sudden nightmare" means absence of the soul in consequence of abduction by a demon, so that attempts to bring the soul back into the body should not be frustrated by scaring it, as by a sudden glare of light.

The reader will remember, that spectres are bent on rendering women insane and giving them hallucinations in which they see the spectres and have sexual intercourse with them (pp. 788 *sqq.*). The best means of exorcising such demons is cauterisation. The woman's thumbs are to this end tied firmly together, so that the tips of the fingers of the two hands touch each other, and then cauterisation is performed at the place where the tips touch. This

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[1] 治卒狂言鬼語方、針其足大拇指爪甲下。又方、以韤帶急合縛兩手、火炙左右脇、握肘頭文、俱起七壯、須與鬼語自道姓名乞去、徐徐詰問、乃解手耳。若或悲泣呻吟者、此爲邪魅、非狂自依邪方治之. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 3, § 17.

[2] 凡發狂則欲走、或自高賢稱神聖、皆須備諸火炙、乃得永瘥. *Pi kih ts'ien kin yao fang*, sect. 癲狂證治.

[3] 卒魘不覺、炙足下大指聚毛中二十一壯. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 5.

place is called "the den where the spectre howls" [1]; because during the cauterisation the spectre howls for mercy through the mouth of the patient. If it does so, and promises to go away without doing any further harm, this is regarded as unquestionable proof of the woman's possession. It may be found necessary to apply seven caustics, and even twice this number. They may also be placed on the big toes; medical men call them "spectres' eyes for the feet" [1]. Simultaneous incision in the tendons and muscles may prove effectual, or at least salutary.

Koh Hung also recommends smoking the patient with fire the power of which has been increased by means of ingredients which of themselves are exorcising, such as incense or vegetable resin, tigers' claws, etc. "To cure women who, having intercourse "with spectral beings, speak and laugh when alone, or are seized "with melancholy or stupor, one ounce of powdered realgar should "be stirred with two ounces of pine-gum and a tiger's claw; the "mixture should be kneaded into pills or balls, and these balls "burned in a fire-basket at night, and the woman made to "clandestinely sit upon this, carefully veiled, her head alone "protruding. If one time does not cure her, three mixtures at the "most will suffice, after which she will break off her connection "with the spectre" [3].

If babies cry and cannot be quieted, parents often ascribe this to their being teased by spectres, or to their seeing spectres which frighten them. It is usual in such a case to take some burning paper or charcoal in a pan, and keep it close to the eyes and face of the patient, repeating the cure a few times, if necessary.

Philanthropists or clever exploiters of public ignorance and credulity seem to have sometimes distributed or sold wonderful fire for medical purposes. History relates the following episode among the events of the year 493 of our era: "Before that time there "had been a song circulating in the territory of the house of Wei, "of this tenor: 'Red fire is spreading southward, destroying the

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[1] 鬼哭穴.　　[2] 足鬼眼.

[3] 治女人與邪物交通、獨言獨笑、悲思恍惚者、末雄黃一兩以松脂二兩溶和虎爪攪令如彈丸、夜內火籠中燒之、令女人侵坐其上、被急自蒙、惟出頭耳。一爾未差、不過三劑、過自斷也. *Op. cit.*, ch. 3, § 17.

"southern states'. Now in this year there came a Shaman from the "north, dispensing such fire, and he arrived (in the capital of Ts'i, "or the present Nanking). Its colour was more red than ordinary "fire and it was also more ethereal. As he pretended to cure the "sick with it, the higher class as well as the common people vied "with each other in obtaining it from him, and in most cases its "effect was salutary. In more than twenty days the whole capital "was full of it, and every one spoke of the holy fire; the emperor "forbade its use, but could not put a stop to it. Patients were "cured by the application of seven caustic sticks. Khiu Kwoh-pin "of Wu-hing secretly took it to his home, and a native of his "district, Yang Tao-khing by name, who had suffered from con-"sumption for more than twenty years, was methodically cauterized "with it, and immediately cured" [1].

The ideas about the exorcising capacities of fire may explain the medical use of fire-flies [2], also called "night-lights" [3] and "night-torches" [4]. Li Shi-chen says: "According to the *Shen-sien kan ying* "*pien*, the fire-fly balls of Wu Ch'ing [5] cure or expel disease, evil "influences, all spectres, tigers and wolves, snakes, serpents, wasps and "other venomous animals, life-destroying disasters caused by the five "kinds of weapons, by bare swords, rebels and robbers. Under the "Han dynasty, Liu Tszĕ-nan, general of the helmet-army and governor "of Wu-wei, received the said medicine from the Taoist Yin-kung. "In the twelfth year of the Yung p'ing period (A.D. 69) he was "defeated in the northern border land by barbarians; his troops were "annihilated, he himself was surrounded, and a rain of arrows then "fell on him, but at a few feet from his horse they suddenly dropped. "The barbarians therefore considered him to be a god, and drew off. "He revealed the whole secret of the medicine to his juniors, and "nobody of these in his capacity of army-commander incurred any

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1 先是魏地謠言、赤火南流喪南國。是歲有沙門從北齎此火而至。色赤於常火而微。云以療疾、貴賤爭取之、多得其驗。二十餘日都下大盛、咸云聖火、詔禁之、不止。火炙至七炷而疾愈。吳興丘國寶密以還鄉、邑人楊道慶虛疾二十年、依法炙卽差. History of the South, ch. 4, l. 27. A rather different version of this story is given in the Books of the Southern Ts'i Dynasty, ch. 19, l. 12.

2 螢. 3 夜光. 4 宵燭.

5 A fabulous Taoist of the time of Yao.

"wounds. At the close of the Han dynasty the Blue ox Taoist obtained "it and delivered it to Hwang-fu Lung of Ngan-ting, who gave it to "the emperor Wu of the Wei dynasty, after whom various people "from time to time obtained it. Hence it is that the pills are called "pills of the helmet-commander, and also Wu-wei pills" [1].

In conclusion we have to mention the custom of making circles of ashes when the activity of spectres is apprehended. We have seen on page 281 in an old tale the strewing about of ashes mentioned among the means of destroying the power of a mighty tree-spirit, and must infer from it that dread of fire is so intense among spectres that even a thought of fire roused by harmless ashes suffices to paralyze them. In the writings of Koh Hung the world is instructed, "that in cases of sudden death (see p. 687) the patient "should have his face rubbed with a cock's bloody comb, and a "circle of ashes must be made all around him, as he will then rise "immediately" [2]. A recipe to the same effect occurs, as we have seen on page 217 of Book I, in the work of Li Shi-chen. On exactly the same principle Koh Hung has framed the rescript, that "if a "man is liable to nightmare and has bad dreams, dead ashes of fire "should be put into his shoes and the shoes placed against his "pillow" [3].

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[1] 神仙感應篇云、務成子螢火丸主辟疾病惡氣百鬼虎狼蛇虺蜂蠆諸毒、五兵白刀盜賊兇害。昔漢冠軍將軍武威太守劉子南從道士尹公受得此方。永平十二年於北界與虜戰敗績、士卒略盡、子南被圍、矢下如雨、未至子南馬數尺矢輒墮地。虜以爲神乃解去。子南以方教子弟、爲將皆未一被傷也。漢末青牛道士得之、以傳安定皇甫隆、隆以傳魏武帝、乃稍有人得之。故一名冠將丸、又名武威丸. *Pen-tsʿao kang muh*, ch. 41, l. 21.

[2] 卒死以鷄冠及血塗面上、灰圍四邊立起. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 1.

[3] 人喜魘及惡夢者取火死灰著履中合枕. *Op. cit.*, ch. 1, § 5.

CHAPTER IV.

SHEN-TʿU AND YUH-LEI, PEACH TREES, TIGERS, ROPES.

Clearing houses of demoniacal influences at the change of the year by means of fire does not afford an absolute safety, for indeed, at any moment the expelled spectres may return. Powerful preventive charms are to be affixed to gates and doors, in order to ward them off for the whole year.

Generations of extreme antiquity have transmitted such valuable charms to their posterity, and posterity have with great care used them to this day. We hear of them for the first time in Wang Chʿung's work, written in the first century of our era. Discussing the use of wooden dragons for rainmaking purposes, which was customary in his time, our sophist wrote:

"Among mankind of most remote antiquity there were Shen-tʿu "and Yuh-lei, two brothers, endowed by nature with the power "of capturing spectres. They dwelt in the mountain or land of "Tu-shoh, in the eastern sea. Standing under a peach tree, they "examined hundreds of spectres, and those which, without regard "to the li or laws and principles of the Tao (cf. p. 930), wantonly "had inflicted misfortune on men, were bound with cords of "reeds or rushes by (Shen-)tʿu and Yuh-lei, and thrown as food "to a tiger. Hence it is that district magistrates cut peach wood "into human images, and place them beside their doors, and that "they paint tigers and affix them to the central gateposts" [1].

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[1] 上古之人有神荼鬱壘者昆弟二人、性能執鬼。居東海度朔山上。立桃樹下、簡閱百鬼、鬼無道理妄爲人禍、荼與鬱壘縛以蘆索執以食虎。故今縣官斬桃爲人立之戶側、畫虎之形著之門闑. *Lun heng*, ch. 16, 亂龍篇.

In another chapter Wang Ch'ung wrote:

"The *Shan-hai king* [1] says: In the vast ocean the mountain or "land of Tu-shoh lies. A large peach tree stands in it, the foliage "of which extends three thousand miles. The north-eastern side of "its branches is called the Gate of Spectres, because it is there that "myriads of spectres go in and out. There were in that island two "divine men, Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei by name, who directed the "examination and management of the hosts of spectres. Spectres "which caused evil and damage they fettered with ropes of reed "or rushes, to give them as food to a tiger. Thereupon the emperor "Hwang (27th cent. b.C.) instituted the ceremonial usage of driving "off spectres at the proper season; that is to say, he set up large "images of peach wood, painted Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei on gates and "doors, and, together with a tiger, suspended there cords of reed, "in order to repulse them" [2].

Conventionally then this tradition, and the customs which it created, are of very old standing, dating from mythical times. But we cannot fail to observe that the tale has a naturalistic tinge. It places the scene of the destruction of spectres in the farthest east, the region of the rising of the almighty destroyer of the powers of darkness. It places the gate, through which those beings are led to their doom, on the north-east, which, since the north represents winter and the east the spring, means the time when those two seasons meet, corresponding to the last day or days of the old year and the first of the new, when, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, the sun, helped by man, purges the Universe of the influences of the Yin and its spectres.

Hence we are tempted to examine whether there is any solar or astrological element in the two devil-destroyers. But we are unsuccessful here. Shen-t'u may be translated into "godly T'u", and t'u denotes a plant, also called the "bitter herb" [3], which survives in

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1 I have not found a trace of that passage in the work now current under this name.

2 山海經又曰、滄海之中有度朔之山。上有大桃木、其屈蟠三千里。其枝間東北曰鬼門、萬鬼所出入也。上有二神人、一曰神荼、一曰鬱壘、主閱領萬鬼。惡害之鬼執以葦索而以食虎。於是黃帝乃作禮以時驅之、立大桃人、門戶畫神荼鬱壘與虎懸葦索以禦. Ch. 22, 訂鬼篇.

3 苦菜.

winter; but no Chinese author tells us whether it has any solar attributes. The name Yuh-lei is translatable into "accumulation of luxuriant growth", and may allude to the yearly effects of the solar warmth; but it is certainly questionable whether this term actually had this meaning in ancient times. Yuh is also the name of a plant, but this fact also tells us nothing.

We are more successful if we look for a naturalistic reason why the two brothers kept a tiger to devour the spectres arraigned by them. It would be easy, but not satisfactory, simply to let the murderous character of that most ferocious of Asiatic brutes account for this selection. It seems more adequate to regard that tiger as representing the universal demon-destroyer himself, the Yang or sun, which in the beginning of spring commences the process of purification of the world. Indeed, one or two thousand years before our era, the sun at that period of the year, half a season previous to the equinox, entered Pisces, subsequently traversing Aries and Taurus, and these signs embrace seven Chinese constellations, from Khwei to Ts^{c}an (cf. B. I, page 971), which compose the quadrant of the sphere called to this day the White Tiger. It will then have been this celestial tiger, representing the vernal career of the sun, which destroyed the spectral world predominant in winter.

Solar attributes were, in connexion with the legend of Shen-t^{c}u and Yuh-lei, actually ascribed to the tiger by Ying Shao, the author of the second century who composed the *Fung-suh t^{c}ung i*. Giving in this book the legend of the two godly men in much the same wording as Wang Ch^{c}ung, he says: "The tiger is an animal of the "Yang, the principal among the hundreds of species of quadrupeds. "It can grasp spectres, tear asunder and devour them. People "nowadays, if they suddenly meet with ill, burn or roast some "tiger's skin, and consume it with water; a claw or nail of the beast, "if bound to the body, may also avert evil, and is very efficient" [1].

We have still to see whether the enormous peach tree covering that execution-ground is in any way connected with the spring. It certainly does not seem preposterous to consider the peach as a symbol of the vernal sun, under the influence of which it is clothed with blossom more luxuriantly than any other tree even before a

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[1] 虎者陽物、百獸之長也。能執搏挫銳噬食鬼魅。今人卒得惡遇燒焙虎皮飲之、繫其爪亦能辟惡、此甚驗也. Ch. 8.

single leaf unfolds on its twigs. It may then be, besides a demon-expeller, a symbol of vitality; hence its fruits or kernels, in which that vitality, in the form of generative energy, dwells, are the selected life-conferring food of the sien or long-lived and immortal men of Taoism, as we have seen in Book I on p. 56, and in Book II on pp. 304 *seq.*, stating that such attributes have been assigned by the *Shen i king* especially to a gigantic peach tree in the east, which probably was no other than that of Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei.

But whether it be a symbol of the vernal sun, or merely owing to its position in the legend of the two devil-judges, the fact is certain that the peach tree has remained a principal exorcising means to this day. We have documentary evidence that it was so before the Christian era; indeed, as stated on pp. 40 *sqq.* of Book I, according to the *Li ki*, the wu, while escorting rulers on their visits of condolence, were armed with a peach rod, in order to keep away obnoxious influences from them; and according to the *Tso ch'wen*, such a fact occurred in the year 543 before Christ. And we have seen in the same part of our work, that Ching Khang-ch'ing in the second century of our era emphatically declared that usage to have been based on the belief that spectres fear the peach tree.

In the same century, Ying Shao, as we have stated on page 955, recorded the legend of Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei in his *Fung-suh t'ung i*. And he added: "Thenceforth, district magistrates on the sacrifice "of the last day of the year always have decorated their gates with "images of peach wood; they have suspended there cords of reed or "rushes, and painted a tiger, altogether in remembrance and "imitation of that past event, expecting in this way to afford "protection against evil" [1]. We find this custom mentioned also in a book of the same period, entitled *Tuh twan* (see p. 499), in these words: "T'u and Lei were therefore painted or drawn on "gates and doors, and cords of reed or rushes were suspended "there, to resist evil" [2]. The custom was an official one under the Han dynasty, for in the Standard History of that house we read in the section devoted to Ritual, that after the so-called no, the exorcising ceremony of the twelfth month, "keng [3] of peach wood,

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1 於是縣官常以臘除夕飾桃人、垂葦茭、畫虎於門、皆追效於前事冀以衛凶也. Chap. 8.

2 乃畫荼壘并懸葦索于門戶以禦凶也.

3 梗; this word may simply mean a branch, or a piece of a branch; yet it is

"Yuh-lei, and cords of reed were put up by the official class" [1].

Those customs being so deeply rooted in social life already in early times, we cannot be surprised to find them faithfully observed in later ages. In a description of the official ritual of the house of Tsin we read: "On New Year's morning cords of rush were always "put up at the gate of the Palace and of all official buildings, as "also keng of peach wood, and a cock, in order to exorcise evil "influences" [2]. In King and Ch'u people followed those customs in the sixth century, together with yet others of the same purport: "On New Year's day people young and old drink peach soup. "Every one makes planks of peach wood to fix on the doors, "calling them wood of the immortals... As the peach possesses "more vitality (tsing) than any of the five (principal) trees, it "suppresses and subdues sié influences, and keeps the legions of "spectres in check... And they paste a painted cock above the "door, suspend there cords of reed or rush, and put up t'ao fu or "peach charms beside it, because the legions of spectres are afraid "of those things. Tung Hiun, Intendant of the Gates under the "Wei dynasty, has said: They make smoking fires before the "doors in the morning of the New Year's sacrificial day, and fasten "gods of peach wood, twisted cords, pines and cypresses, and a "slaughtered cock on gates and doors; these are the ceremonies "purporting to expel pestilential influences. The *Kwah ti t'u* or "Geographical Atlas says: In the mountain or land of the Peach "capital is a big peach tree with a foliage extending over three "thousand miles. A gold cock is perched upon it, and crows at dawn. "Below it are two gods, the one called Yuh, the other Lei [3]; "both lie perdu with cords of reed for spectres of evil, which "they kill as soon as caught" [4].

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said to express the idea of "change or alternation" (keng 更), with reference to the seasons. The same chapter of the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, l. 5, says, that "people "under the Cheu dynasty made keng 更 of peach wood, denoting that the breaths "(the Yang and Yin) alternate" 以桃爲更、言氣相更也.

1 百官設桃梗鬱儡葦茭. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 15, l. 10.

2 歲旦常設葦茭桃梗磔雞於宮及百寺之門、以禳惡氣. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 19, l. 23.

3 There was then evident uncertainty about the names of the two spectre-killers.

4 正月一日長幼飲桃湯。各造桃板著戶、謂之

There can be no doubt that the decoctions of peaches, mentioned in this extract, were drunk with a view to the expulsion of spectres from the body, that is, as life-preservers and life-prolongers. The fruit still plays this part to this day. In medical literature a powerful curative property is ascribed to peaches which have dried on the tree without dropping, as also to the skin and the kernels, and the short twigs by which the fruits hang from the tree, especially those which did not fall off in winter and were gathered in the first month of the year. Dried blossoms are recommended for such demoniacal diseases as convulsions, spasm, lethargy; and so are the bark, gum, chips of the wood, and the twigs. Reprinting in his great work what old books have to say on the subject, Li Shi-chen concludes with these words: "We may infer from those various statements, that branches "of the peach, its leaves, roots, kernels, and twigs by which the "fruits are fastened to the tree, as also stalks of peach wood, all "occupy a place in botanical Materia Medica because of the fact "that they avert spectral evil and disease-causing collision" [1].

Exorcising and healing power being conferred upon the peach by the sun, such power must abide in particular in its branches which grow eastward or southward, that is to say, towards the regions which contain the sun in its rise and culmination. The reader has found on page 328 of Book I a recipe published in the eighth century by Ch'en Tsang-khi for people tormented by spectres, in the composition of which, beside old coffin-wood, should enter a peach twig taken from the east side of the tree. A common prescription in times of epidemic to this day is to wash the body at every full moon with warm water in which such a peach twig has been soaked. Under the Sung dynasty, one Tai Tsu [2] declared, that

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仙木。。。桃者五木之精、厭伏邪氣、制百鬼也。。。帖畫雞戶上、懸葦索於其上、插桃符其傍、百鬼畏之。按魏議郎董勛云、今正臘旦門前作烟火、桃神、絞索、松柏、殺雞著門戶、逐疫禮也。括地圖曰、桃都山有大桃樹、盤屈三千里。上有金雞、日照則鳴。下有二神、一名鬱、一名壘、并執葦索以伺不祥之鬼、得則殺之. *King Ch'u sui-shi ki.*

1 據此諸說則本草桃之枝葉根核桃梟桃橛皆辟鬼祟病忤蓋有由來矣. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 29, l. 27.

2 戴祚.

"Hia-heu Wen-kwei of Ts'iao re-appeared after his death, and "returned home. On passing by the peach in front of the court- "yard, he said: 'I have sowed this tree; its fruits must be excel- "lent'. His wife said to him: 'They say that the dead fear peach "trees; is not this the case with you?' The answer was: 'It is "the branches on the east and the south, two feet eight inches in "length, on the sunny side, which they fear, but some do not fear "even these'" [1].

If now we turn our attention once more to the excerpt which we have made from the King and Ch'u Calendar on page 957, we shall see that in the sixth century, when that book was written, planks of peach wood were fixed to the doors, and t'ao fu [2] or "peach charms" were fastened beside the same. As charms generally consist of writing, these peach charms may have been objects of peach wood bearing an inscription, but nothing on this head can be stated with certainty. Yet it is perfectly admissible, and, indeed, generally admitted by the Chinese, that those planks and those charms were the prototypes of the t'ao fu of the present day, that is to say, of the quadrangular sheets of red paper displaying the names of the brothers, pasted on the folding doors, or of the red squares painted on such doors and bearing their names in black paint; as also of the long strips of paper of the same red colour, inscribed with antithetical sentences deprecating evil and supplicating for good, affixed to the right and left of the entrance.

Those sheets, which strike the attention of everybody who visits China, are indeed denoted by that old name of t'ao fu. The name which the material of which they are made bears in Amoy, viz. *t'ó-âng tsoá* [3], "peach-red paper", is a further reminder of their origin, and so also is the fact that the people renew them at the end of the year. New sheets are then everywhere exposed for sale, and in Amoy many poor penmen may be seen in the streets, or in corners of shopfronts hired for the purpose, offering selections, written by themselves, to the public for a few coppers. Educated

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[1] 譙郡夏侯文規亡後見形還家。經庭前桃樹邊過曰、此桃我昔所種、子乃美好。其婦曰、人言亡者畏桃、君何不畏耶。答曰、桃東南枝長二尺八寸向日者憎之、或亦不畏也. *Chen i ki* 甄異記, Examination of Strange Matters. The copy which I possess contains five short tales.

[2] 桃符. [3] 桃紅紙.

householders of course are accustomed themselves to write those which they want for their own use.

As we might expect, parts of the peach tree are used for exorcising purposes all the year round at any time. In a narrative professedly dating from the fifth century (see p. 128), a woman repels with a peach branch a being who calls himself her son, but whom she believes to be a spectre. In another tale of about the same time (p. 579) a Buddhist priest with such a branch beats his brother, possessed by a fox-demon. And a work of the sixth century represents a man whom spectres rendered ill and mad, as relieved by means of a human image of peach wood (p. 443). It is generally admitted in Amoy that persons who have swooned should be cured by beating them with a rod of peach wood, or by brandishing the rod energetically over them, preferably uttering spells, threats and invectives the while. Men and women wear miniature swords of peach wood on their breasts as amulets, or hang them at their doors, especially in times of epidemic. Whenever spectres are believed to be lurking near by, peach rods appear, to be kept at home or frequently swung and brandished; and I have seen men and women sprinkling water in their rooms and premises by means of a green peach twig, with no other but exorcising purpose.

The power exercised by the peach on spectres explains why water in which its fruits have been soaked is looked upon as the proper stuff for the treatment of spectres in human disguise. We have indeed found in a book the following wild tale, dated from the T'ang dynasty:

"In the Khai yuen period (713—742) Li Chung-t'ung was "district prefect in Yen-ling (in Honan), when his female slave died "and was buried there. Three years afterwards he was removed to "the district of P'i, in Shuh (Szĕ-ch'wen). His principal servant "there was sweeping the ground, when he saw some hair grow "out of it. He swept with more vigour, but the hair could not be "removed; he pulled at it with his hands, and lo — the slave of "Yen-ling arose, helpless as if intoxicated. The family asked her "how she had come thither, and she said that she was just now "awaking from sleep. Chung-t'ung deemed her to be a spectre; he "poured peach water over her, and treated her with written "charms, but this did not at all inspire her with fear, and she "laughed as merrily as ever. She was confined in an outhouse and "fed with cakes, which she ate in the ordinary way. When the "month had passed, she was let out of that apartment and

"given work as usual; then she married a slave, by whom she had "a boy and two girls. Seventeen years later she died" [1].

The wooden or paper peach charms, intended to prevent intrusion of spectres into human dwellings, may also be converted into salutary exorcising medicines. Meng Shen [2], a physician of high repute who lived from 621—713, composed a work in seventeen books, entitled *Shih liao pen-ts'ao* [3], Plants to eat for Medicine, and wrote therein this passage: "When one is struck by evil or under sié influences "of spirits and spectres, a decoction of peach charms in water should "be consumed" [4]. Certain stakes (杙 or 橛) of peach wood are, according to Li Shi-chen, "often stuck into the ground to defend houses and yards" [5]; and about these objects the famous Ch'en Tsang-khi has this notice: "They cure sudden pain in the heart, "belly-ache, spectral diseases, and bleeding, and expel sié or "evil influences. If you have a swollen abdomen, decoctions from "such stakes will be drunk with the same good effect as peach "charms" [6].

Even the colour of peach blossoms is, as we have seen, a powerful charm. Therefore red things in general counteract evil and avert misfortune. Many mourning and funeral customs, mentioned in this

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1 開元中李仲通者任鄠陵縣令、婢死埋於鄠陵。經三年遷蜀郫縣。宰家人掃地、見髮出土中。頻掃不去、因以手拔之、焉陵婢隨手而出、昏昏如醉。家人問婢何以至此、乃曰、適如睡覺。仲通以爲鬼、乃以桃湯灌洗、書符禦之、婢殊不懼、喜笑如故。乃閉於別室、以餅哺之、餐啖如常。經月餘出之、驅使如舊、便配與奴爲妻、生一男二女。更十七年而卒. *King t'ing luh* 驚聽錄, Record of Things frightful to hear, quoted in T S, sect. 人事, ch. 97, l. 9.

2 孟詵; see New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 196, and Old Books, ch. 191.

3 食療本草.

4 桃符中惡精魅邪氣、水煮汁服之. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 29, l. 27.

5 人多釘於地上以鎮家宅. *Op. et loc. cit.*

6 卒心腹痛鬼病破血辟邪惡氣。脹滿煮汁服之、與桃符同功. *Op. cit.*, ch. 38, l. 16.

work, are based upon this conception[1]. We may also refer to page 281, where a tale of the fourth century relates how a dangerous and mighty tree-spirit was deprived of all its power because the men attacking it had their faces painted red, wore red clothes, and had wound a red cord around the tree. The fact that red is also the colour of fire and light no doubt tends to strengthen the conception. And whereas red destroys misfortune, it also insures felicity. Red is, in fact, the favourite gaudy colour of the Chinese, displayed everywhere on occasions of festivity or rejoicing, such as marriage; therefore, as we have seen (Book I, p. 28), it is laid aside during mourning. Politeness forbids the giving of presents unless they are wrapped in peach-red paper, or decorated with a small slip of this material, and this rule is observed so faithfully in Amoy, that the term *âng pao*[2], "red parcel", is there the standard expression for a present or fee. Oranges are much used as presents because of their colour. Visiting-cards, sent to other people's houses, are always red, and so are many letters of congratulation and invitation. Red cords are braided in pigtails especially of boys and girls, to promote their health and growth; and shreds of red cloth are much worn in pockets.

It is not improbable that cords, representing those with which Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei fettered the spectres, have retained their position in the system of exorcism. We have never seen them at doors; yet some local works on provinces, departments or districts explicitly mention them as being hung out on the day before New Year. Koh Hung wrote in the fourth century, that white grass thrown at spectres may kill them immediately (see p. 502); it seems then that even the material of which those famous ropes were made was in his time deemed to effect the destruction of spectres.

The tiger has to this day maintained its position as a door charm more firmly. The ancient custom of fixing its picture to entrances is not observed about New Year only, but very often the monster, either winged or not, or its head only, roughly painted on paper or a thin board, is seen over lintels of dwellings or of temples where religious ceremonies and sacrifices are being celebrated[3]. The beast still plays its rôle of destroyer and expeller of spectres in sundry other ways. As we shall learn elsewhere, a tiger appears in

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1 See the pages indicated under the word **Red** in Index III of Book I.

2 紅包.

3 A cat of burnt clay or porcelain, in a sitting posture, with staring eyes, is frequently placed on the roof as a charm against evil, no doubt on account of its resemblance to a tiger.

a prominent position in a celestial army of gods, which wages an implacable war of destruction against the legions of darkness. In Amoy and the surrounding districts it is a very usual practice to make images of divinities sit on a tiger's skin or a fragment of it, in order to increase their devil dispelling power; and many idols are painted with a skirt of such skin. On page 179 we have read of a man who tried to cure his spectral fever by sitting and sleeping on a tiger's skin, though with the unhappy result that he changed into a tiger. Koh Hung's medical book states, that in cases of sudden nightmare, "the best remedy is a pillow made of a tiger's head, or resembling it"[1]. In Amoy, many mothers, anxious to preserve the health of their infants, give them a so-called *hó͘ bō*[2] or "tiger hat" to wear, which represents the head of the monster, or is adorned with it.

Images of the tiger, carved in wood or metal, are much worn as amulets against demons of disease. And it was not only in the second century of our era that, as Ying Shao tells us (see p. 955), its claws were worn on the body, but, set in silver, they are thus used as amulets to this hour. Precious charms and amulets also are the small bones of a tiger's foot, which in cases of convulsion and disease are e. g. tied to the pulse of babies. And last, but not least, parts of the tiger's body are in great repute as exorcising medicines. As early as Ying Shao's time, tiger's skin, on account of the havoc which the monster makes among spectres, used to be burned or roasted, mixed with water, and consumed by the sick (see p. 955). Medical works to this day give a variety of analogous recipes. Tiger's bones are, like bones of dead men, considered to harbour soul substance or vital fluid, and therefore are highly valued, in particular if taken from the head. They are pounded and roasted in order to destroy the marrow, and the ashes, prepared with spirits or vinegar, are mixed in all sorts of medicaments which afford protection against devils of nightmare, bad dreams and fever, and, if placed on lintels, against demonry in general. Decoctions of tiger's bones cure demoniacal disease and other complaints. Tiger's flesh is recommended for debility of the spleen or the stomach. A man may cure his stomach by means of small doses of tiger's grease, dissolved in oil. Pills prepared from a tiger's eyeball cure con-

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1 以虎頭枕尤佳. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 5.

2 虎帽.

vulsions, but patients are advised to beware of the numerous imitations of this precious stuff. Equally the blood, spleen and gall of the beast occupy a place of honour in drugshops, as well as the faeces, mixed with urine of a horse, dried, and burned to ashes.

The devil dispelling power of the tiger being so great, learned men have advised sufferers from obstinate fever to cure themselves by reading treatises on tigers. As stated on page 173, Ch'en Ki-jü in the sixteenth century wrote the *Hu wei*, a book on tiger lore, after the example of Wang Chi-teng's *Hu yuen*. In his preface he relates, that while he was harassed by fever for a whole year, "Mr. Wang Poh-kuh (Wang Chi-teng) came to inquire about my "health in the Pao-yen hall, and gave me a copy of the "*Hu yuen*, as this might avert my fever. I read it, yet the demon "continued its work. This proved that this compilation was far from "complete. Therefore I ransacked the writings of hermits, and "searched for old traditions current in mountains and forests, and "beside lakes and waters, and I compiled everything in a book, to "which I gave the title of *Hu wei*" [1].

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[1] 佰穀王丈訪余於寶顏堂、授以虎苑、可以辟瘧。讀之而魔鬼如故。然其書所徵不及百事。余乃搜諸逸籍及山林湖海之故聞、薈撮成卷、題曰虎薈。

CHAPTER V.

THE COCK.

The Calendar of King and Ch'u, and the writings which its author quotes, have taught us (p. 957), that in the sixth century a place among the exorcising methods suitable to the beginning of the year was occupied by the cock, dead specimens and pictures of which were then fixed by the people at their doors, because a cock of gold had been perched in the peach tree of Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei, to announce sunrise by its crowing.

We have not found this statement in any older books. But in the same sixth century it was set forth by a studious prince of the house of Liang, who had adopted the fancy name of Kin Leu-tszĕ [1], Philosopher of the Gold or Gilded Storey. "In the south-east is the "mountain or land of the Peach-capital, where a large peach tree "stands, with a celestial cock perched therein. When the first rays "of the rising sun fall on that peach tree, the aforesaid celestial "cock immediately crows, and all cocks in the world, thus excited, "also crow. And below that tree are two spirits facing it, with "ropes of reed in their hands, who catch mischief-making spectres "and devour them. Nowadays people, to imitate this, make pairs "of peachwood men on New Year's morning, with ropes, and place "a cock between them" [2].

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1 金樓子. He was the seventh son of Wu, the founder of the Liang dynasty, and is known in history as emperor Hiao Yuen 孝元, having reigned from 552 to 554 or 555. His writings, current to this day under the title of *Kin Leu-tszĕ*, consist of sixteen sections, and contain jottings on pre-historic and historical emperors and rulers, on imperial consorts, on lessons given by great men, and on his library; — further they give short biographies of various worthies, miscellaneous notes on strange and other matters, and autobiographical notes. Probably we have the work only in a fragmentary state.

2 東南有桃都山、山有大桃樹、上有天雞。日初出照此桃、天雞卽鳴、天下之雞感之而鳴。樹下有兩鬼對樹持葦索、取不祥之鬼食之。今人正旦作兩桃人以索、中置雄雞、法乎此也. Chapter 5.

Of course fabulists connected the cock with Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei in its capacity of solar bird, whose crowing, coinciding with the first dawn, frightens away spectres [1]. It was a cock of gold, representing the golden rays of the rising God of Light. We have already devoted a few notes to the relation between the cock and the sun on page 200 of Book I, and have seen on pp. 519, 620, 739 and 750 how spectres abscond at cockcrow, and corpse spectres are paralyzed by it.

The exposure of cocks at gates and doors about New Year's time is accounted for by yet another legend, which Wang Kia in the fifth century wrote down in his *Shih i ki*, and which likewise pretends to a high antiquity. "When Yao had been on the throne "for seventy years (23rd century b.C.), phoenix chickens crowded "together every year, and unicorns roamed about lakes and meres, "while owls (birds of bad omen) fled to the remotest deserts. There was "at that time a realm of Chi-chi, which presented to the said emperor "birds with a double eyesight, called 'two eyeballs', because they "had two pupils in each eye. They resembled cocks in shape, but "they crowed like male phoenixes. Even when moulting they flew "with the fleshy stumps of their wings. They gave chase to wild "beasts, tigers and wolves, preventing disastrous events and all "possible evil from doing any harm. They fed on grease of kiung "jade. In some years there came many of them, and then for a series "of years not one appeared. All people in the realm swept and "watered the ground before their gates and doors, hoping that the "double-eyed birds might gather there; and in anticipation they "carved images of them in wood, or cast them in metal, and placed "these at the entrances, so that ch'i and mei spectres with all "their hideous brood retired or submitted. The fact that nowadays "on every New Year's day people carve cocks in wood, or cast them "of metal, or paint them above their windows, is a survival thereof" [1].

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1 *Bernardo:* It was about to speak, when the cock crew.
Horatio: And then it started, like a guilty thing
Upon a fearful summons. I have heard,
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the God of day; and, at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
The extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine . . . . .

Shakespeare's *Hamlet.*

2 堯在位七十年有鸞雛歲歲來集、麒麟遊于

The position of the cock as demon-expeller naturally explains why, many centuries ago, custom in China forbade the killing of cocks on the first days of the year, that is to say, when the great annual campaign against the spectral host set in. In the Calendar of King and Ch'u we read: "According to Tung Hiun's Queries "concerning Rites and Customs, the first day of the first month is "the day of the cock... In the morning of that day they paint "a cock at the door... At present they do not kill any cocks on "the first... Anciently they slaughtered cocks, but nowadays they "do not... Formerly people abstained from eating fowls from the "first day of the year to the seventh" [1].

We feel tempted to believe, that the rôle of the cock as a solar exorcising agent must be much older than that Calendar of customs. We find it indeed alluded to in the *Fung-suh t'ung i*. "According "to the *Shan-hai king*", says this work of the second century, "cocks were always used as sacrificial articles for spirits and gods. "In the suburban sacrifices of the kingdom of Lu they always "sacrificed a red cock to the sun, because its voice in the morning "and its red feathers drove evil from the rulers of that state. At "present, when one is stabbed by a spectre, so that he gets a boil "or ulcer, then, as soon as he perceives it, he kills a cock, and "applies it over his heart. And when any one has a pernicious "epilepsy, they prepare medicines from a cock. The head of a cock, "which has been affixed to a gate or door on the east, may subdue "ku sorcery (cf. p. 869). Consequently we may say, that the cock

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藪澤、梟鴟逃于絶漠。有秖支之國獻重明之鳥、一名雙睛、言雙睛在目。狀如雞、鳴似鳳。時解落毛羽、肉翮而飛。能搏逐猛獸虎狼、使妖災羣惡不能爲害。飴以瓊膏。或一歲數來、或數歲不至。國人莫不掃灑門戶、以望重明之集、其未至之時國人或刻木、或鑄金爲此鳥之狀、置于門戶之間、則魑魅魍魎類自然退伏。今人每歲元日或刻木鑄金、或圖畫爲雞于牖上、此其遺像也.

Chapter 1.

[1] 安董勛問禮俗曰、正月一日爲雞...正旦畫雞於門...今一日不殺雞...古乃磔雞、今則不殺...舊以正旦至七日諱食雞.

"is the principal means of restraining mortality and averting evil" [1].

The belief that demoniacal diseases may be cured by dead cocks is also inculcated upon the Chinese people by the *Sheu shen ki*: "Hia-heu Hung saw in Kiang-ling a tall spectre with a lance, and "several tiny spectres behind it. He was seized with fright and "jumped from the road sideways, but when the tall one had passed "by, he seized a small one, and asked it what sort of being that "tall one was. 'He murders men; whoever is struck by him with "that lance in his heart or belly is sure to die". Hung then asked "whether there were any remedies against the disease thus inflicted "by him; on which the spectre said: 'Rub them with black cocks; "this will immediately cure the patients'. 'And where is that spectre "going now?' asked Hung. 'To King-cheu and Yang-cheu', the "answer was. After he had marched for about one day more, people "who were smitten with disease in heart or belly all died; but then "Hung told the people to kill black cocks and rub the patients "therewith, and this did not fail to produce its effect in eight or nine "cases out of every ten. The present method of rubbing with black "cocks those who are struck by evil, dates from Hia-heu Hung" [2].

Thus, on a par with the peach, the cock dispels disease on account of its solar propensities, and moreover confers on man the vitality bestowed by the universal source of life, of which it is the symbol. Its position in the exorcising medical art is not less pre-

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[1] 山海經曰、祠鬼神皆以雄雞。魯郊祀常以丹雞祀日、以其朝聲赤羽去魯侯之咎。今人卒得鬼刺痱、悟殺雄雞以傅其心上。病賊風者作雞散。東門雞頭可以治蠱。由此言之雞主以禦死辟惡也. Ch. 8.

[2] 夏侯弘於江陵見一大鬼提矛戟、有隨從小鬼數人。弘畏懼、下路避之、大鬼過後捉得一小鬼、問此何物。曰、殺人、以此矛戟若中心腹者無不輒死。弘曰、治此病有方否、鬼曰、以烏雞溥之卽差。弘曰、今欲何行。鬼曰、當至荊揚二州。爾時比日行、心腹病無有不死者、弘乃教人殺烏雞以溥之、十不失八九。今治中惡輒用烏雞溥之者、弘之由也. Ch. 2.

ponderant than that of the peach. We have already noted a few points on this head on pp. 201 and 217 of Book I, and on pp. 360—362 of Book II. In Koh Hung's old medical work we read, that in case of "sudden death" (see p. 687), "blood obtained from "an incision in the comb of a red cock is to be squirted by means "of a tube into the patient's nose" [1]. Another recipe (see p. 952) is, to take a cock's comb with the blood, and rub his face with it; and "if anybody is hit by a spectre's blow, blood should be drawn "from the comb with a knife, and dropped into the mouth of the "patient, so that he swallows it; and that same cock must be cut "up, and the two halves folded over his breast below his heart, "and when they have become cold, they must be thrown away on "the roadside. If a black cock can be procured, the effect will be "the better" [2]. For nightmare, likewise a spectral attack (p. 699), the same author gives, among other recipes, this one: "Cut into "the comb of a cock, and squirt the blood of it with a tube into "the throat of the patient; this will have the best effect" [3]. All these prescriptions were transcribed by Li Shi-chen in his great work, and thus transmitted to practitioners to this day. Moreover this great authority writes: "Heads of cocks kill spectres. The best are "those of cocks that have stood above doors on the east. They are "a cure for k u sorcery, dispel evil, and avert pestilence [4]. If any- "body dies suddenly, being struck by a spectre, blood of a cock "smeared below his heart may immediately revive him [5]. Flesh of "a red cock kills poison, and averts inauspicious influences.... "It diverts and wards off pestilential disease. Take a red cock on "the day of the winter solstice, dry its flesh, cook it on the day "of the beginning of spring (see B. I, p. 968), and eat it entirely, "without giving any part of it to others" [6]. We have seen recipes

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1 卒死割丹雄雞冠血管吹內鼻中. *Chéu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 1.

2 鬼擊割雞冠血以瀝口中令一咽、仍破此鷄、以搗心下、冷乃棄之於道邊。得烏鷄彌佳妙. Ch. 1, § 4.

3 割雄鷄冠取血、以管吹入咽喉中、大效. Ch. 1, § 5.

4 鷄頭殺鬼。東門上者良。治蠱、禳惡、辟瘟. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 48, l. 7.

5 鬼排卒死用烏雄鷄血塗心下卽甦. *Ibid.*, l. 9.

6 丹雄鷄肉殺惡毒、辟不祥。。。辟禳瘟疫。冬

for victims of blows of spectres, in the composition of which the white parts of cock's dung figured as chief ingredient, cooked in spirits together with flowers of hemp.

The old custom of fixing a cock to the house as a demon-expelling agent is observed in China to this day. Usually, painted on paper, it is pasted above the lintel; earthenware figures of cocks may be seen on many housetops, and no doubt the custom occurs in yet other forms. We then may, after all, draw from this chapter and the preceding this conclusion, that whatever recalls in the most general way an exorcising object, even its colour, or simply represents it by one of its parts, by its ashes or decoctions, has the same good effect as that object itself. We shall, of course, see this principle prevail in many other exorcising practices.

至日取赤雄鷄作腊、至立春日煮食至盡、勿分他人. *Ibid.*, l. 2.

CHAPTER VI.

TWIGS AND BROOMS.

Exorcising instruments of special repute are bundles of reeds or twigs, because their use against evil is mentioned in the Classics. Indeed, as our readers know (Book I, p. 41), according to the *Li ki*, wu and Conjurers or Invokers, while escorting princes and grandees on calls of condolence, carried reeds or twigs, with the object of keeping off from them influences or spectres connected with the death. The fact that this custom is, moreover, mentioned in the semi-classical *I li* and the *Tso chʿwen* (B. I, pp. 36 and 42) enhances its respectability. Those reeds or twigs (lieh 茢) probably were tied together as a broom, if, as learned China generally does, we may adopt the opinion of Ching Khang-chʿing, who said in his commentary on the passage in the *Li ki* referred to above, that "with brooms obnoxious things might be swept away" (B. I, p. 41).

Owing to its classical character, this exorcising custom has maintained its place in the imperial ritual of condolence for a long series of ages. In that of the Tʿang dynasty we read: "The emperor, "arriving at the hall (of the house of death), ascends to it by the "eastern steps, and proceeds to the place of wailing. One wu and "one Invoker ascend in advance; the former with the peachrod "places himself on the south-east, and the Invoker with the twigs "on the south-west, and four lancers ascend with the emperor, "preceding and following him"[1]. And in the ritual of the Sung dynasty we find the matter mentioned in these words: "When "the imperial carriage leaves the inner Palace, four commanders "of the tsʿien-niu swords (body-guards), carrying lances, one

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[1] 皇帝至堂升自阼階、卽哭位。巫祝各一人先升、巫執桃立于東南、祝執茢立于西南、戈者四人先後隨升. New Books of the Tʿang Dynasty, ch. 20, l. 2.

"bearing a peachrod and one the twigs, march at the head of "the cortege" [1].

I have not heard or read of the use of twigs or brooms at visits of condolence in later times; but the hanging out of brooms at doors about New Year's time is mentioned frequently in books. Many families are in the habit of performing a kind of pretence sweeping with a broom on the last day of the year, rather intending the removal of evil than that of filth. A broom with a basket to receive the sweepings is sometimes fastened to the top of a bamboo pole on the roof of a house, on account of geomantic advice that the house may become a prey to sié because the normal or correct influences of nature do not sufficiently converge on it. In times of epidemic, processions for the expulsion of demons of disease are, as we shall see on page 986, headed by broom bearers. Small brooms are often suspended by careful mothers to the bedcurtains of their babies. And the reader is acquainted with the fact that brooms are preferably handled and brandished to lay corpse spectres (B. I, p. 43; B. II, p. 751). I have seen in South Fuhkien people who had swooned being beaten with brooms to expel the devil that held the soul in his grip. Archbishop Gray writes, that in Canton, "to "restore the health of a child suffering from fever and ague, it is "customary for the mother to place three burning incense sticks in "its hand. The child is then quickly carried out of the house by "a servant. The mother follows them with a broom in her hand, "pretending to sweep, and crying aloud: Begone! Begone!! Begone!!! "The evil spirit which is regarded as the cause of the child's sick-"ness is supposed to be driven away for ever by this ceremony" [2].

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1 乘輿自內出、千牛將軍四人執戈、一人執桃、一人執茢、前導. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 124, l. 7.

2 China, II, p. 30.

CHAPTER VII.

EXORCISING PROCESSIONS.

We know now that the purification of human dwellings at the end of the year is an ancient usage, traceable in books as far back as the beginning of our era, and that the myths accounting for it are an argument for its prevalence in much older time. Apart from those myths, there is in classical books evidence for such higher antiquity.

In the *Lun yü* it is explicitly stated, that Confucius, "when his "fellow citizens celebrated the no, put on his court robes, and "stood on the eastern steps" [1]; and in the *Li ki* (ch. 36, l. 40) it is said, that "when his fellow citizens performed the yang, he put "on his court robes and took position on the eastern steps, in order "to shield his household gods" [2]. Evidently then that no 儺 or yang 禓 was disquieting to the domestic spirits because of its noise. According to Lü Puh-wei, it was performed three times a year. In his directions to be observed in the several months of the year, he says: "In the last month of spring the people of the capital "perform the no; they cut victims in pieces at the nine gates, in "order to suppress evil, and thereby they finish the influence of "the spring [3]. In the month of mid-autumn the Son of Heaven "performs the no to give succour against disease, and in this "wise he causes the influence of autumn to pervade everything [4]. "And in the last month of winter the Son of Heaven orders the

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1 鄉人儺、朝服而立於阼階. X, 10.

2 鄉人禓、孔子朝服立於阼、存室神也. Section 郊特牲, I.

3 季春之月國人儺、九門磔禳以畢春氣. *Lü-shi ch'un-ts'iu*, ch. 3, first section.

4 仲秋之月天子乃儺禦佐疾、以通秋氣. Ch. 8, first section.

"officers to celebrate the great or principal no, and to cut victims "in pieces on all sides" [1].

Lü Puh-wei's monthly directions have been bound up with the *Li ki* as a special book, entitled Directions for the Months [2]. Hence this Classic mentions the no or yang in two of its books, and since, as we have seen, they are moreover mentioned in the *Lun yü*, they are thoroughly classical. The passages quoted entitle us to say, that they had for their object the averting of disease; also that this was achieved by sacrificing to disease-demons at the city-gates certain victims cut in pieces; further that they were celebrated with peculiar ardour by the official world in the last month of the year, and were then called the great no; and that Sons of Heaven personally occupied themselves with at least two of the three, which no doubt implies that they were performed in their palace. And the attitude of Confucius indicates, that the performers invaded his premises and those of notables or official persons like himself, or that they acted under the control or auspices of such worthies, and that the ceremony was connected with noise enough to frighten and disturb even ancestral souls and other divinities worshipped in the houses.

The performers were indeed quite a crowd. This is, as we have seen on page 162 of Book I, emphatically stated in an instructive passage of the *Cheu li*, which tells of fang-siang shi [3], "inspectors or rescuers of the country to the four quarters" (?), who, their heads covered with a bearskin mask with four eyes of gold, wearing a black coat and a red skirt, and armed with a lance and a shield, busily occupied themselves at those no with searching the houses at the head of a hundred followers, in order to expel contagious diseases. These men were, moreover, employed at princely funerals to drive spectres out of the grave, to which end they jumped into it, and gesticulated with their lances. Apparently there were in employ four of them, since another page of the *Cheu li* says, that "they were four, wild and raving men" [4].

The great no of the last month of the year undoubtedly coincided with the same annual cleansing with which Chapters III, IV and V have acquainted us, when the Yang undertakes its always suc-

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1 季冬之月天子命有司大儺旁磔. Ch. 12, first section.

2 月令.

3 方相氏.

4 方相氏狂夫四人. Ch. 28, l. 18.

cessful campaign against the Yin and its spectres. Ching Khang-ch'ing suggested that the three no had an astrological background. In his age, the second century of our era, the sun in the last month of spring traversed the constellation Mao 昴 (see Book I, p. 972), which stands under the influence of two adjacent asterisms, called Ta-ling [1] or Great Burial Mound, and Tseh-shi [2] or Accumulated Corpses, by whose operation the sun then might produce spectres and demons, the powers of death [3]. This dangerous moment recurred again in the month of mid-autumn, when the sun was in opposition with those constellations [4]. And in the last month of winter the sun traversed the constellations Hü 虛 and Wei 危 (see Book I, p. 971), which, being under the influence of the adjacent Fen-mu [5] or Graves, and Szĕ-szĕ [6] or Four Directors, are ruled by evil spirits compelling the Yin to harm man [7]. This explanation of the *raison d'être* of the three no is no doubt worthy of our attention, and perhaps quite correct; at any rate it seems difficult to dispute its correctness.

Substantial particulars about the manner in which the great no was celebrated in the imperial residence during the Han dynasty, are supplied by writings of that time. Kao Yiu (see p. 161) wrote in the second century, that "the great no was the same drumming "away of epidemics in which the people of the present indulge on "the day before the sacrifice of the end of the year, and which "they call expulsion" [8]. And in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty we find in the chapter describing the official ritual of that house the following interesting lines:

"One day before the sacrifice of the end of the year the great "no is celebrated, called expulsion of epidemical disease. The ritual "of it is the following: — From among the apprentices of the "inner Yellow Gate of the Palace, one hundred and twenty of ten,

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1 大陵. 2 積尸.

3 Khienlung edition of the *Li ki*, ch. 21, l. 45.

4 *Ibid.*, ch. 24, l. 11. 5 墳墓.

6 四司. According to the *Sing king* 星經 or Canon of Stars, the oldest Chinese uranographical book written under the Han dynasty, those Four Directors are: that of evil, 司非; that of danger, 司危; that of royal favour, 司祿; and that of life or fate, 司命. Each contains two stars.

7 Khienlung edition of the *Li ki*, ch. 25, l. 46.

8 大儺 今人臘前一日擊鼓驅疫、謂之逐除、是也. Khienlung edition of the *Li ki*, ch. 25, l. 46.

"eleven or twelve years are selected to act as 'lads'; they are dressed "with red bonnets and black coats, and they carry large hand- "drums. The fang-siang shi with four eyes of gold and masked "with bearskins, wearing black coats and red skirts, grasp their "lances and wield their shields. There are also twelve animals "with feathers or hairs, and with horns. These people start their "work at the inner Yellow Gate, under command of a Chamberlain "in general employ, to expel maleficent spectres from the Forbidden "Palace.

"When the waterclock of the night is at its highest level (towards "sunset), the court officials assemble: Chamberlains, Chancellors, "Co-ministers, members of the Board of Revenue, commanders and "officials of the Body Guard, everybody with a red cap. The guards "of the throne repair to the front hall with the imperial palan- "keen. Then the Commander of the Yellow Gate harangues the "emperor in these terms: 'The lads are ready; I beseech that "the expulsion of contagious disease may be performed'. On this a "chant is commenced at the inner Yellow Gate, with which the "boys chime in. It runs as follows:

"'Kiah-tso devours calamities; Fei-wei devours tigers; Hiung-poh "devours mei spectres; T'eng-kien eats mischief-making things, and "Kiao-chu adversity; Poh-khi eats dreams; Kiang-liang and Tsu-ming "together devour the dead whose bodies were mutilated, and "Khi-sheng-wei-sui swallows what he sees; Ts'o-twan gulps down a "myriad, and Kiung-khi with T'eng-ken together devour ku. These "twelve divinities are herewith ordered to chase away evil and "misfortune, to scorch your bodies, seize your bones and joints, "cut your flesh in pieces, tear out your lungs and bowels. If you "do not get quickly away, the stragglers among you will become "their food'.

"Now the fang-siang are set to work. Together with those "twelve animals (representing these twelve demon-devourers) they "jump about screaming, making three tours round about the inner "Palace buildings in front and behind, and with their torches they "escort the pestilential disease out of the front gate. Outside this "gate, swift horsemen take over the torches and leave the Palace "through the Marshal's Gate, on the outside of which they transfer "them to horsemen of the fifth army-corps, who thereupon drive "the spectres into the Loh river.

"In every mansion of the official world, men with wooden masks "and representing animals may act as leaders of the performers

"of the no. When the ceremony is finished, keng of peachwood "(see p. 956) are put up, with Yuh-lei and ropes of reed, after which "the performers and the officers in attendance on the throne stop "their work. Ropes of reed, lances, and sticks of peach wood are "presented by the emperor to the highest ministers, commanders, "and special and general feudal rulers" [1].

We further learn a few particulars about these no from the *Tuh twan*: "Then it was ordered that fang-siang shi with four "eyes of gold, masked with bearskins, and wearing black coats with "red skirts, bearing lances and brandishing shields, should always "perform at the end of the year in the twelfth month the no of the "season, in the rear of hundreds of official servants and boys, and "search the interior of the Palace, in order to expel the demons "of plague. With bows of peach wood and arrows of the thorny "jujube they shoot at the spectres, and with porcelain drums they

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[1] 先臘一日大儺、謂之逐疫。其儀、選中黃門子弟、年十歲以上、十二以下、百二十人、爲侲子、皆赤幘皂製、執大鼗。方相氏黃金四目、蒙熊皮玄衣朱裳、執戈揚盾。十二獸、有衣毛角。中黃門行之、冗從僕射將之、以逐惡鬼于禁中。

夜漏上水朝臣會、侍中、尚書、御史、謁者、虎賁羽林郎將執事、皆赤幘。陛衛乘輿御前殿。黃門令奏曰、侲子備、請逐疫。於是中黃門倡、侲子和。曰、

甲作食殃、胇胃食虎、雄伯食魅、騰簡食不祥、攬諸食咎、伯奇食夢、强梁祖明共食磔死、寄生委隨食觀、錯斷食巨、窮奇騰根共食蠱。凡使十二神追惡凶、赫女軀、拉女幹節、解女肉、抽女肺腸。女不急去、後者爲糧。

因作方相。與十二獸儺嚾呼周徧前後省三過、持炬火送疫出端門。門外騶騎傳炬出宮司馬闕門、門外五營騎士傳火棄雒水中。

百官官府各以木面獸能爲儺人師。訖設桃梗鬱儡葦茭、畢執事陛者罷。葦戟桃杖以賜公卿將軍特侯諸侯云. Ch. 15, ll. 9 *seq.*

"drum at them; moreover they throw red balls and cereals at them, "in order to remove disease and calamity" [1].

A description of the no of those times, as they were celebrated in Loh-yang, the imperial capital, occurs also in a poetical composition ascribed to Chang Heng (see p. 21) of the second century, entitled *Tung-king fu* [2] or Lay of the Eastern Capital. "At the end "of the year the great no takes place for the purpose of driving "off all spectres. The fang-siang carry their spears, wu and hih "hold their bundles of reed. Ten thousand lads with red heads "and black clothes, with bows of peach wood and arrows of thorny "jujube shoot at random all around. Showers of potsherds and "pebbles come down like rain, infallibly killing strong spectres as "well as the weak. Flaming torches run after these beings, so that "a sparkling and streaming glare chases the red plague to all sides; "thereupon they destroy them in the imperial moats and break "down the suspension bridges (to prevent their return). In this way "they attack ch'i and mei, strike at wild and ferocious beings, "cleave sinuous snakes, beat out the brains of fang-liang, "imprison keng-fu in the clear and chilly waters, and drown "nü-pah [3] in the waters animated by gods. They cut asunder the "khwei (p. 496) and the hü (p. 466), as also the wang-siang; "they mutilate the yé-chung, and exterminate the yiu-kwang [4]. "The eight spirits (cardinal points of the Universe) thereby quiver; "how much more must this be the case with the ki (p. 696), the "yuh (p. 702) and the pih-fang. The land of Tu-shoh (p. 953), "affords protection by peach branches, the effects of which are "enhanced by Yuh-lei and Shen-tu, who on the other side, with "ropes of rush in their hands, by means of their sharp eyesight "spy out the darkest corners, in order to catch the spectres which "still remain after the chase. The houses in the capital thus being

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[1] 于是命方相氏、黄金四目、蒙以熊皮、玄衣朱裳、執戈揚楯、常以歲竟十二月從百隷及童兒而時儺以索宮中、毆疫鬼也。桃弧棘矢土鼓鼓且射之、以赤丸五穀播洒之、以除疾殃.

[2] 東京賦. It is reprinted in the T S, sect. 職方, ch. 440, and there contains 3800 characters.

[3] According to a commentary, keng-fu and nü-pah are devils of drought which fear water, and are destroyed when thrown into it.

[4] Commentator's note: yé-chung and yiu-kwang are eight brothers who haunt and harm mankind continuously.

"purged to their most secluded parts, and delivered from every-
"thing undesirable, the Yin and the Yang may unite harmoniously,
"and all beings and things thus be produced in due time"[1].

This is all the information that the writings of the Han dynasty contain about the official celebration of the great no; but I think it is nearly everything worth knowing. Dynasties of later ages no doubt celebrated it in much the same fashion. Standard history teaches us that the house of Ts'i caused it to be performed on the last day of the year by two groups, each of 120 lads, and twelve animals headed by drums and wind instruments. The gates of the wards and of the city walls were flung open, and the emperor in everyday attire contemplated the no from his throne, in the midst of his officers. With rolling drums the procession entered the Palace through the western gate, passed through all parts of it in two divisions, even mounting the storeys and towers; the fang-siang and the twelve animals hopped, jumped, and cried, and having passed through the south gate, they spread in six directions till they reached the city-walls.

And under the Sui dynasty a buck and a cock were cut in pieces at the gate of the Palace and the four city gates on the last day of the spring, in order to exorcise the influences of the Yin; they did the same thing on the day before the autumn equinox, in order to exorcise the influences of the Yang, and repeated the act in the last month of winter. There were men with leather whips in the cortége, which for the rest was composed as under the Ts'i dynasty. The tumultuous work was finished before sunrise. As soon as the procession had left the Palace, it broke up into several parts, and approached the city gates, where the slaughtering of the victims

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[1] 卒歲大儺、歐除群厲。方相秉鉞、巫覡操茢。倀子萬童丹首元製、桃弧棘矢所發無臬。飛礫雨散、剛癉必斃。煌火馳而星流逐赤疫於四裔、然後凌天池絶飛梁。捎魑魅、斮獝狂、斬蝯蛇、腦方良、囚耕父於清冷、溺女魃於神潢。殘夔魖與罔象、殪野仲而殲游光。八靈爲之震慴、況敺蜮與畢方。度朔作梗守、以鬱壘神荼副焉、對操索葦、目察區陬、司執遺鬼。京室密清、罔有不韙、於是陰陽交和、庶物時育.

then took place immediately by Conjurers and other officiating worthies, who also sacrificed spirits, and buried these and the victims on the spot, in a pit dug for the purpose [1].

The rescripts for the celebration of the no under the T'ang dynasty were of exactly the same tenor as the above; but they demanded that the lads should be between twelve and sixteen years old, masked, and arranged in four groups of six, and that, besides the whip-bearers, drummers and trumpeters, there should be two wu in the procession. The exorcising song was to the very letter that of the Han dynasty [2]. The Khai yuen Ritual gave rules for the celebration of the no in the provinces: — four fang-siang were to be used, with four precentors [3], and by chiefs of first class governments sixty lads besides; chiefs of governments of the second or the third order might employ forty lads, and in the districts no more than twenty lads might be employed, with one fang-siang and one precentor; besides there might be four drummers and four whip-bearers. Such purification of official mansions and cities was to be accompanied by a sacrifice at the gates to the yin spirits, and concluded by burial of the sacrificial flesh and wine.

Those exorcising processions, instituted by the pious men of unknown antiquity and transmitted for many ages as a part of the State-religion, contained in themselves all the elements needed for conversion into popular exorcising processions, noisy, and even amusing, agreeably breaking the monotony of daily life. We find indeed in literature of all times notices telling of boys coming out on the last day of the year with "spectre-masks" [4]; of people old and young, masked in a hundred ways as gods and spirits, under the guidance of so-called "fathers and mothers of the no" [5]; of processions, in which also the weaker sex freely acted side by side with the male. We read of men in embroidered, highly coloured dresses, armed with spears and banners, representing the "door-gods" [6] Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei, or accoutred as "judges" [7] of hell, suitably to terrify spectres; or as Chung-khwei [8], an eminent devil-murdering spirit (see Frontispiece). We read of male and female wu possessed

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1 Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 8, ll. 19 *seq.*

2 New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 16, l. 12.

3 唱率.

4 鬼臉.

5 儺公 and 儺母.

6 門神.

7 判官.

8 鍾馗.

by a divinity, dancing about with drums and cymbals. But while thus maintaining their existence among the people, the no disappeared from the ritual of the State after the T'ang dynasty, and it seems that they have not been celebrated again officially in the last eight or nine centuries.

Such popular no, celebrated without any official initiative or sanction, are by no means peculiarly connected with the end of the year. In south Fuhkien, and, as we may suppose, in China generally, they mostly take place in the hot season, when mortality is greatest, and people are often decimated by the cholera demons, the endemic summer plague of the south.

They are organized by committees which administer the temples dedicated to tutelary divinities of wards and villages. Very often two or more such parish temples, adjacent to each other, combine for the purpose. The animation displayed and the outlays made are proportionate to the cruelty with which the plague devils do their work. The money required is collected among the parishioners by means of subscription lists, at the head of which the local mandarins inscribe their names for goodly sums. In Amoy and the adjacent country it is customary for the god of the temple himself to give orders by the mouth of a medium, into whom his spirit has descended, on which night his image is to be carried in procession through the parish, or even the whole town, and is thus to be enabled to purify it by his intimidating presence, for, as we know (p. 930), shen or Yang spirits destroy the kwei or spirits of the Yin. Often also the deity appoints in the same fashion the spot from which the procession shall start, and the streets through which it shall pass, giving, moreover, useful hints with regard to the quality and quantity of the sacrificial articles to be offered to the generals of the Celestial Army (see p. 963) which is expected to escort him.

The procession is preceded by two men bearing a pair of the largest paper lanterns which the temple possesses, inscribed with the name of the building and of the god residing in it. They are followed by a man with a square black banner suspended from a pole and displaying a large charm in white paint, which by affrighting the host of darkness by the brightness of its colour and its terrifying import, dissipates them, as the wind blows away the dust. Next comes a train of some hundred notable men and fathers of families, well dressed, each with a smoking incense-stick in his hand, so as to fill with sweet scent the road which the god is

taking. They all, or a great many, mutter a most famous poem of great exorcising power, entitled *Ching khi ko*, which we shall set before the reader on pp. 1014 *sqq*. The next division consists of soldiers or civilians in military uniforms, with long, spectre-dispelling trumpets (p. 946), followed by the gods whose images are worshipped in the temple, with their immediate escort. Those of inferior rank precede; the chief god follows. Each is seated in an open palankeen, allowing a free look-out on every side, so that no demon can escape their attention, nor remain undismayed by failing to see the gods. From time to time the bearers of the palankeens, in order to frighten the demon-world, utter long drawn cries of *iu*... *iu*... The rules of respect and etiquette require that gods, when taken out, should be escorted by a retinue as described on page 164 of Book I, that is to say, by bearers of gongs, a canopy and fan of state, square boards displaying their divine names and titles, or a warning to the public "to be respectful and silent", and "to turn away and retire", further by lictors with whips and twisted rattan staves to drive wayfarers aside, and bamboo laths or flogging-sticks used in the tribunals. This rule is followed in devil-expelling processions, but the canopy, the fan and the boards are often left behind in the temple, being better replaced by an extra number of much more awe-inspiring whips, rattans, and laths.

The committee of administrators, in ceremonial dress with tasselled hat (Book I, p. 49), follow behind the gods. They distribute paper charms among the people, which may act as prophylactics for the prevailing disease, and as medicines for those attacked by it. Then comes a second train of pious laymen with incense-sticks, reciting the above-mentioned *Ching khi ko*. I have once seen all of them carrying small triangular flags of black stuff, affixed to little staves of spectre-expelling willow wood, and bearing in white paint the phrase: "we pray for rest and peace for this whole region" [1], for by mouth of his medium the temple-god had actually ordered them to do so, and to affix them to their housedoors after the procession. It needs no saying that the procession contains a great number of torchbearers, whose business it is to affright the spirits of darkness with light and fire.

Unless the plague abates considerably, such *tsʿâ iā* [2] or "nocturnal rounds", as the Amoy Chinese call them, are repeated every night

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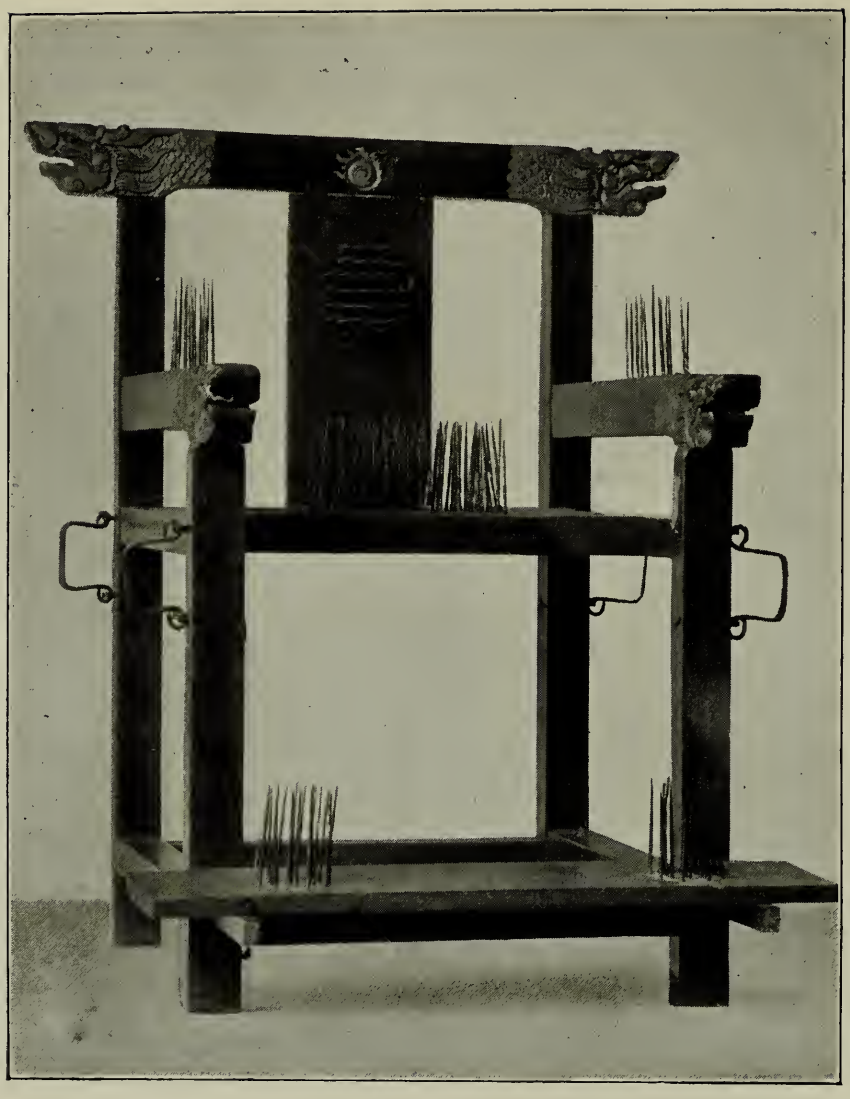
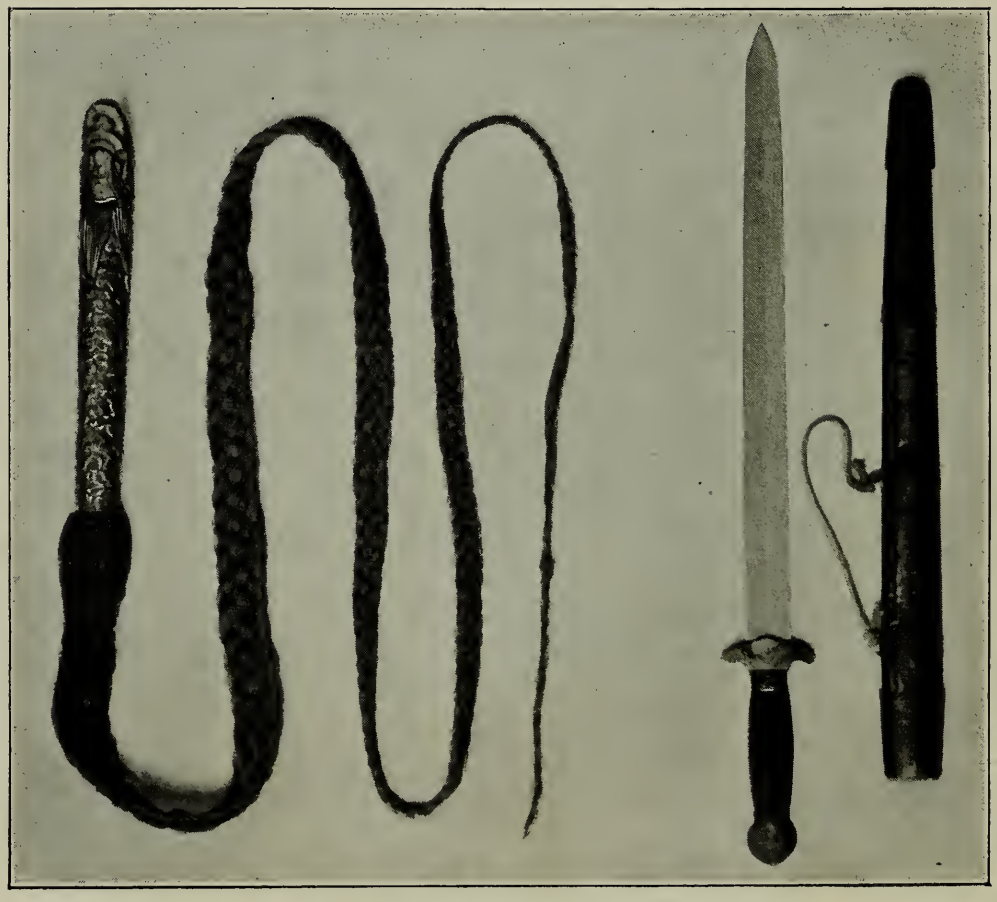
[1] 祈求合境平安. [2] 查夜.





Nail-chair, whip, and sword of exorcist.

for some weeks, or even longer. As it is the gods who prescribe the programme, or at least considerable items of it, the processions not seldom differ considerably. I have seen one winding through streets and lanes quite silently, while at the same time elsewhere in the town another was moving with noisy trumpets and gongs, and volleys from rusty muskets. I have also seen processions drawn out very much beyond the average length by hundreds of men, each bearing a paper lantern at the top of a pole, the god having ordered that every family should cause itself to be represented in the train by such an object. As is usual when gods appear in public on festive occasions, many a devout parishioner has a censer at his door upon a table, with incense burning in it, and there, when the gods pass, he courteously salutes them with bows, while holding incense-sticks between his fingers. And hardly any family will forget to enrich them and their suite by burning some counterfeit paper money on the premises, and help them in their work of purification by firing one or more strings of crackers.

A temple-god of repute and popularity, a powerful protector of the parish, generally has a medium, into whom he preferably descends, in order to give through his mouth orders and good advice to his beloved people [1]. In this way he may have ordered that this man shall appear in the procession. He then parades therein in a state of delirium which proves that the god is in him. He is naked to the waist, his hair flowing down dishevelled at his back. Long daggers stand implanted deep in his cheeks and upper arms, so that the blood drips out. With a double-edged sword (Pl. X) he cleaves the air in his assaults on beings which nobody sees but he. At times he looks unconscious; then suddenly he hops, runs, spins round, and rolls from side to side, inflicting bloody wounds on his back with his sword, or with a ball studded with sharp iron points, which he bears by a cord. Such a *ch'i kiu* [2] or "prick-ball" is of wood or of compact straw, through which pass many thin iron spikes about eight inches long, sharply pointed at both ends. There may be seen also such mediums of other gods who reside in the temple or in other temples of the ward or town, behaving in much the same way. Some, should the gods in whose employ they are have so ordered it, are carried round each in an arm-chair resting by means of shafts on the shoulders of four bearers, the seat, back and arms

1 We shall devote our attention to those men in Part V.

2 荊球.

of which, even the place on which the feet rest, are armed with long nails pointing upward, and sticking deep into the flesh of the occupant. Not less bloodletting than these *ting kiō* or *tan kiō* [1], "nail litters" (Pl. X) are the *ting chʿâng* [2] or "nail beds", on each of which a medium lies stretched at full length upon protruding nail points; or the *to kiō* [3] or "sword litters", chairs like the "nail litters", but the seat, back, arms, and foot-rest of which are rows of parallel swords, on the edges of which the body rests or leans. The bleeding men are carried round in these vehicles for hours. Occasionally there may be seen a woman among them, subjecting herself to the same disgusting torment.

To increase the exorcising power of such an uneasy chair with its bleeding occupant, there is attached to the back of it a small flagstaff with a black flag, bearing in bright white paint the Tʿai-kih surrounded by the eight kwa, and, beside this figure, the Great Bear, and the character 斗, Peck, which is the name of this constellation. This flag is deemed to maintain rule among the spectres, for they are subject to the Tao or Order of the Universe (cf. Chapter I), which the flag displays; — indeed, the Tʿai-kih is the Yang and the Yin, which constitute the Tao; the kwa are the natural phenomena which their influences call forth (B. I, p. 960), and the Great Bear is the constellation which, ruling the seasons or time, which is the Course or Order of the Universe, actually rules this Order (B. I, p. 317).

Nor is it uncommon to see in the procession a medium with a thick needle thrust through his tongue. His bloody spittle he drops on sheets of paper, for which the crowd eagerly scrambles, knowing that, with the blood, the devil-dispelling power of the god dwelling in the medium has passed into them. Such a mighty charm therefore affords complete protection to every family to whose lintel, walls, beds or bodies it is fastened.

Should the plague not abate, or even become more virulent, the vigour of the procession must be intensified. The bearers of the palankeens which contain the gods cry and scream more loudly; they now and then actually galop, and energetically swing their holy loads. Wu-ist or Taoist priests (*sai kong*), in full ceremonial dress, trot up and down in the train, expelling the spectres with jingling handbells, and buffalo-horns on which they blow at inter-

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[1] 釘轎. [2] 釘床. [3] 刀轎.

vals, while ejaculating exorcising formulæ. Or they furiously assail the spectres by brandishing their swords, or even axes, if swords have too long proved insufficiently effective. Clanging of gongs, popping of crackers, and volleys from matchlocks reach a climax of intensity, and blunderbusses detonate before temples and official mansions.

As the reader will remember, an important rôle was assigned at the no ceremonies of the Han dynasty to a number of lads intoning exorcising chants under a director or leader. Nowadays we still find such boys of between, say, eleven and fifteen years in the anti-epidemical processions at Amoy. It is incumbent on them in the first place to exercise influence upon the thirty six generals of the Celestial Army by chanting. They do this first in the temple before the procession sets out, thereby inducing them to descend; and they repeat their chant over and over again when the procession is perambulating the streets, in order to stimulate the valour and prowess of the generals. Such lads are placed at the disposal of the directors of the temple by fathers of the indigent class, anxious to do something useful. They wear a special dress. Their name is *lŏ iên sé*, the litteral meaning of which escapes me. Their director, a *hoat tiúng*[1] or "chief of magic", marching ahead of them, brandishes a sword. They accompany their chants by the soft rattling of so-called *pa lé*: hollow rings of brass, about one decimeter in diameter, the outer circumference of which is slit, and which contain some small pieces of iron. Each boy bears one ring in his hand, under a coloured cloth. A few carry long whips of braided cords with short handles, called *hoat soh*[2] or "magical ropes" (Pl. X), wherewith they flog the spectres away. Five boys bear banners of the five principal colours, representing the divisions of the Celestial Army, viz. those of the northern, southern, eastern, western, and central parts of the Universe, therewith to lead on the mighty host of invisible gods against the common foe. They are escorted by gongmen and drummers, inciting the divine warriors by their noise. Close by, some men having their faces painted black, red, green, or otherwise, with dishevelled hair, whips, swords, or bells, on horseback or afoot, bear live snakes around their necks. They represent the generals of the Celestial Army, or are incarnations of these divinities for the time being, as the mediums are of the temple gods. Finally we notice an image of Chung-khwei in a palankeen, or a man with

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[1] 法長. [2] 法索.

the upper part of his body enclosed in a hollow figure representing this divine devil-expeller.

Should all these intimidations with their terror-striking accompaniments have been employed for some nights without visible effect, leaders, notables and priests confess themselves unable to help the people unless they set in action divinities of the State-religion, whose power in the unseen world stands on a par with that of the almost omnipotent mandarinate in the world of man. But only in walled cities or forts such gods dwell, viz. the god of the Walls and Moats, and Kwan-ti [1], the famous god of War and Military Affairs, respectively patron divinities of the civil and military authorities. Here then the people in despair may apply to their mandarins, and request them to set these gods in action against the catastrophe.

It is a leading principle of Chinese officialdom never to bestir itself on behalf of the people if it can be avoided. Hence also in times of plague the mandarins do not intervene until requests to this effect reach them. These duly read and considered, they repair with their usual suite to the two temples of the aforesaid gods, in order to revere them with prostrations and incense, and inform them of the people's distress by means of a written address in dignified style, read aloud before their altars and then burned. They repeat this formal visit on the next day, and even a third time, and meanwhile issue a proclamation, announcing that they allow the people on such-and-such nights to carry the gods in procession through the streets. And at the appointed time, when darkness has succeeded twilight, the gods are fetched from their temples, and the procession is duly started.

A few men with brooms precede it. They cleanse the road for the gods, but without much display of energy, it being taken for granted that all the people have done this work previously before their own doors; moreover, according to many, the sweeping merely purports removal of the plague, and of the spectres which cause it (cf. p. 972). The sweepers are followed by a set of large lanterns of paper or linen on the top of poles, the broad square fronts of which announce the aim of the procession: "the banishment of the sié and expulsion of the plague" [2], and consequently have the effect which these words express. There follow three men, hidden to their knees within hollow puppets of bamboo, paper and

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[1] 關帝. [2] 驅邪逐疫.

pasteboard, brightly coloured. They represent Chung-khwei, and a pair of spirits in the service of the God of Walls and Moats, charged with haling criminal souls before his tribunal. They look most hideous and terrific. One of the pair is tall and lean, the other short and broad. If anything is capable of causing a *sauve qui peut* among spectres, it is certainly these beings.

Next, by order of the military authorities, comes a division of soldiery. They fire blank cartridges incessantly, wisely preserving the bullets for occasional use against more substantial victims. It stands to reason that there also are in these processions a profusion of trumpets, gongs, cymbals, torches, and lanterns. To scent and purify the air, and at the same time drive away the spectres, censers containing smoking sandal wood are carried along on biers or litters. At last the two gods appear, with the ordinary escort of constables, yamen servants, etc. Civil power having precedence over the military, Kwan-ti comes first, with his divine adjutants Kwan P'ing [1] and Cheu Ts'ang [2], in order to clear the road for the God of Walls and Moats. It is an act of courtesy and devotion on the part of the mandarins should they charge their own palankeen-bearers with the work of carrying these gods. Here also the vehicles of the gods are open (cf. p. 982), so as to enable them to see all spectres, and to be seen by all.

A long row of devotees, either in ceremonial attire or in their best clothes, bearing incense-sticks and chanting the *Ching khi ko*, closes the procession. Householders have duly suspended paper lanterns in their premises, and placed a table there with a censer, in order to worship the two gods with fragrant smoke, bows and prostrations, when they pass; paper mock money is burned, and crackers are fired by them. Midnight passes ere the procession has finished the lengthy route prescribed. The next night finds it in another ward, until, sometimes after a series of days, each part of the town has had its turn. I never saw a possessed medium in these processions, for, as the people rightly or wrongly assert, gods who have a place in the Pantheon of the State seldom deign to descend into human beings.

Mandarins no doubt often encourage the celebration of exorcising processions. Yet it seems that they do not take much interest in them, since the no, their prototypes, have been expunged from the

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[1] 關平. [2] 周倉.

ritual of the State. We may even admit that the intellectualists among them will rather be inclined to despise them, seeing that Wu Yung-kwang, a Governor of Hunan, afterwards Governor-General of Hunan and Hupeh, some seventy years ago sharply criticized them in his handbook for the use of the mandarinate. He wrote therein the following lines, important also for the many particulars concerning those processions:

"A God of Walls and Moats actually is the chief of the govern-
"ment in a region (province, department, or district), assigning in
"this capacity such felicity to the good and such misfortune to
"the wicked as the order of nature has in store. But the ignorant,
"stupid populace does not rest content with such decisions of natural
"equity, and being incapable of selfrestraint, avers that misfortune
"can be averted and happiness attracted; to this end it sacrifices
"on fixed annual days, moreover celebrating so-called birthdays of
"the God of Walls and Moats. On these occasions they fetch the
"god out of his temple, carry him in procession through streets and
"lanes, with noise of metal instruments and drums, and ear-
"splitting fire-crackers; and all to cajole the god in the hope of
"securing happiness. Very wrong and superstitious though this
"custom is, yet not a single one among the district magistrates has
"forbidden it. The time of such processions always coincides with
"the midsummer month, when the genial air of spring has become
"dense and no longer can disperse, so that damp heat and evapo-
"ration may transform into pestilential illness. It is especially dif-
"ficult for the said air to disperse in densely populated places; but the
"diseases of the season may be successfully expelled there by noise of
"metal instruments, drums, and crackers; and that this is done, is
"a survival of the no of the villages, mentioned in the *Cheu li*.
"But owing to the employment on those occasions of men with four
"gold eyes, lances and shields, our ancestors declared the no to
"be hardly better than a comedy; and nowadays it is by means
"of such comedies that the gods are revered!

"But there is more, and worse: while such processions are cele-
"brated, there are censers, pavilions, banners and canopies in it, in
"every respect of the utmost beauty and elegance. Stages are raised,
"on which a variety of theatricals are performed; masquerades are
"cleverly organized, in which some exhibit their antique curiosities
"and trinkets, in order to make a show of their wealth, or adorn
"their faces, in order to draw others into lasciviousness. Pure songs are
"chanted dozens of times; troops of performers by turns appear on

"the stages; the possessions of a hundred families are wasted on "merely a single day of such display. Such things in fact eat "away like a cancer the substance of the people [1].

"Besides there are people who by means of lamps with burning "grease seek absolution from guilt; others who mask themselves as "infernal judges, in order to render themselves important, or who "bind stilts to their legs, or paint their faces with various colours, "and by hundreds or tens form groups of souls of departed people "or bereaved spirits, with absolutely no sense of shame or decency. "This is not honouring the gods, but actually treating them dis- "respectfully. Furthermore there are people who disguise their children, "under pretence that they have sinned against the god; in the "slightest case they handcuff them, in the worst they confine them "in cages, and in this way, they say, they ensure prolongation of "their lives, and their protection by divine power. Such people do "not understand that the proper way to bring up ignorant children "consists in teaching them correct, orthodox principles, and in pointing "out to them what they are bound to respect and what to give "heed to, lest they remain stupid. By dressing them in the tan- "coloured clothes (of convicts) while they still wear the youthful "lock of hair, they render them unhappy; and besides, if they

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[1] 城隍實主一方之治、福善禍淫、本爲理之所有。乃蚩蚩之氓不安義命、不知修檢、謂禍可避而福可邀、遂於歲祀之外別有所謂城隍誕日者。迎神出廟、周游街巷、金鼓喧闐、火爆聒耳、以媚神求福。矯誣已甚、然而地方官曾莫之禁者。以其出會之期恒在仲夏、春溫之氣鬱而不宣、及至溽暑熏烝易成疫癘。其於闤闠輻輳之地宣洩尤難、得此金鼓火爆之聲亦可以祛除時疹、是卽周禮鄉儺之遺意也。然而黃金四目、執戈揚盾、前人已謂儺近於戲、今則直以戲爲事神之具矣。

其尤甚者、當出會時鑪亭旗幟備極鮮妍。擡閣雜劇、巧爲裝演、或陳古玩以炫富、或飾冶容以導淫。淸歌十番、輪班疊進、不惜百家之產以供一日之觀。其於居民生計實爲大蠹。

"compel them to appear handcuffed in the street in their juvenile "days, will they then possess any sense of shame when they are "grown up? They are not by this means saved from a premature "death; and could their parents set any value on the possession "of sons indifferent about good and evil? And further they are "weakened by the burning sunshine and thus made ill; this is "murder of one's own progeny...." [1].

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[1] 更有然肉燈以解罪、裝冥判以自豪、足縛喬竿、面施五采、喪神厲鬼百十成群、絶不知愧恥爲何事。此非敬神、實慢神也。又復裝飾小兒、曰爲神犯、輕則械其手、重則檻其軀、謂可以保壽命之延而獲神靈之佑。不知養蒙之道當教以正、示以恭謹尙恐其頑。乃以赭衣加於髫稚既爲不祥、自其少日已使之縲紲通衢、及至長成尙何羞恥。卽可因此不免殀殤、彼爲父母者亦何貴有此不肖之子。抑或赤日羸肌因而致疾、是生之而適殺之也. *Wu hioh luh*, ch. 9, ll. 19 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

WEAPONS.

In our chapters on Demonology we have read much about weapons which do excellent service for the Chinese in their perpetual war against unseen evil. We have also seen in the preceding chapter that in the no processions there were devil-expellers armed with lances, bows, and arrows, and that at the conclusion of these ceremonies the emperors of the Han dynasty distributed lances and staves of peach wood to the grandees, as weapons of defence against the spectral world. Our second chapter on Demonology has shown, that it always was especially during attacks of spectres, and in panics caused by their apparitions, that the people had recourse to sharp weapons; and we cannot doubt that such things would always have occurred oftener and on a much greater scale but for a government which for its own safety discouraged the possessions of arms.

The very best reputation as a demon-destroying weapon is possessed by the kien [1], a dagger or two-edged sword. It was used as a charm as early as the first century of our era, if credit may be given to the following tale or tradition reported by an author who lived five centuries later: "When the emperor Chang, whose "name was Tah, had occupied the throne for thirteen years (A.D. 88), "he ordered that a metal sword, cast in the eighth year of the "Kien ch'u period (A.D. 83), should be thrown into the I stream, "in order to suppress the 'human knee' apparitions. The Canon "of Waters, written by Hung King-ngan, says: There live beings "in the I stream resembling the knee of a man; they have claws; "people while bathing there often sink to rise no more" [2].

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[1] 劍.

[2] 章帝炟在位十三年、以建初八年鑄一金劍令投於伊水中、以厭人膝之怪。宏景按水經云、伊水有一物如人膝頭、有爪、人浴輒沒不復出.

With peculiar energy swords were brandished by exorcists under the T'ang dynasty. "Yeh, a Taoist doctor of the Ling-khung con-"vent, was wont to recite spells over his sabre, and thereupon strike "therewith with all his might at the navel of his patient, across "whose belly he had placed a branch of peach or willow. This branch "was thus cut right asunder without any infliction of wounds on "the flesh. He once struck with his double-edged sword at a woman "so truly that she fell in two pieces. Blood flowed all around over "the floor, and the family shrieked loudly; but he placed the two "halves against each other, spurted water from his mouth on them, "and uttered a spell; and in a moment she was quite restored to "her former condition" [1].

Even in modern times we read of sword-brandishing doctors performing with equal violence. An Imperial decree, issued to the Chancery on the 18th of the ninth month of the year 1808, referred to three men in Mukden, who, while treating patients with gunshots and straw-cutters, had caused the death of one. The Board of Punishments had condemned them to death by strangulation, on account of the practice of medicine by heterodox arts. The decree ordered, that whereas such things were frequent in the three eastern provinces, the Military Governor in Mukden should forbid them by means of proclamations, and at the same time should open the eyes of medical men to the folly of treating disease with fire-arms and metal swords, and to the punishment in store for them should they cause the death of their patients [2].

The effect of swords when used in assailing spectres is greatly increased by terrifying spells pronounced simultaneously. Such spells are especially powerful if oral or written tradition ascribes their invention or origin to divine men or rulers of antiquity, whose irresistible power and virtue naturally tended to paralyze spectres.

Tao kien luh 刀劍錄, Record of Sabres and Swords; a collection of some seventy notes on such arms from the oldest times. It is ascribed to Thao Hung-king, the famous physician with whom our readers are acquainted. The genuineness of the work seems undisputed.

1 唐陵空觀葉道士呪刀、盡力斬病人肚、橫桃柳於腹上。桃柳斷而肉不傷。後將雙刀斫一女子、應手兩段。血流遍地、家人大哭、道士取續之、噴水而呪、須臾平復如故. From the *Chao yé ch'ien tsai*; K K, ch. 285.

2 *Shing hiun*, edicts of Jen Tsung, ch. 11.

Undoubtedly the best of these spells is that which Fuh Hi, the first of five mythical sovereigns who established the Order of the Universe among the human race (see p. 1058), used while working with his sword: "This emperor of the North first gnashed his teeth thirty six times, "and then uttered this spell: 'I wield the large axe of Heaven to "cut down spectres in their five shapes; one stroke of this divine "blade disperses a myriad of those beings'" [1]. Such spells exist by hundreds. It is also customary to write them on the blade.

If properly influenced by such mighty formulae, swords can even do their work without being handled. "When I was young", we read in a book, "I heard of a Taoist doctor who possessed a "magical method for cutting down spectres. Whenever he desired "to practise it, he placed his sword in an empty room, spurted "water upon it from his mouth, and in threatening tones ordered "it to cut down the spectres. He then kept the room closed to "everybody, not opening it till the next day, and — flowing blood "then stained the floor everywhere [2].

"Many years afterwards I lodged in his dwelling and had the "good fortune to witness the feat with my own eyes. Being "besought to show his magical art, he represented it as a matter "of great value and mystery, but in the end he assented. He left "the house, sought the fruit of a shrub, and having mysteriously "rubbed the sword therewith, spurted much water all around the "spot; that evening we went to investigate, and — the water all "had got the colour of blood. But no sooner had I beheld all this "than I saw through it. A man consists of yang breath, and has "a kwei of yin breath; from the former he has received his body "and thus become a man, and the other breath becomes his kwei "after separation from his body. His blood is produced by his "body; whence then should a bodiless thing (a kwei) get blood? "never, indeed, has there been anywhere under the sky a shapeless "being with blood. A man of higher order may be cheated by

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[1] 北帝先叩齒三十六下、乃祝曰、攬天大斧斬鬼五形、神刀一下萬鬼自潰. *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 35, l. 12, 斬鬼.

[2] 幼時聞一道士有斬鬼之法。每置劍空室中、以水噀之、叱其斬妖。對衆封閉、來日啟之、流血滿地。

"magic, but not so easy is it to entrap him so completely that he "becomes a backslider from true doctrine. The man who thoroughly "understands the orthodox rules of life will never be a victim of "the trumperies of heterodoxy" [1].

Not everybody indiscriminately can wield the sword against spectres successfully. In the hand of a non-expert it may miss all its effect, and even be turned against him by the spectre which he has assailed. "In the last year of the reign of the emperor Muh (A.D. 361), "Hwan Wen, the Military Councillor, was sitting in his chair at "night, when his eyes fell on a spectre lying on the beam of the "roof. It gazed at him with wide open eyes, grinding its teeth. "As it approached him he struck at it with his sword, and "apparently hit it truly, but in fact he wounded his own knee, so "that blood gushed out. Again he drove his sword at the spectre, "but the blow was reversed as before, so that he wounded himself. "As good luck would have it, the sword was not so sharp that "he died" [2].

The power which may be exercised with swords, daggers or knives against spectres is well instanced by the following curious old recipes from Koh Hung's medical book, to be applied in cases of "abrupt nightmare", which means apoplexy or swoon while asleep (cf. p. 700); they are, no doubt, like most medical directions of unforgotten sages of the past, practised to this day. "Place the "patient on the ground, and draw a line thereon round about his

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[1] 數年後旅寓中、得親見。遇而求其法、始甚珍祕、久之許傳。乃出求一草寔、密以擦劍、含水大噴、經夕視之、水皆血色。一見釋然。蓋人之與鬼陰陽一氣耳、一氣受形而爲人、一氣離形而爲鬼。血因形而生、既不受形何從有血、天下未有無形而有血者。君子可欺以方、難罔以非其道。惟達禮者不受非道之欺. *Khü i shwoh*, 祛疑說, "Discourses on Dissipation of Doubt", a work apparently devoted to the unmasking and refutation of superstition and magic; quoted in T S, sect. 神異, ch. 305.

[2] 穆帝末年桓溫府將軍夜坐、忽見屋梁上有伏鬼。張目切齒向之。鬼來轉近、以刀斫之、見正中鬼、而實反傷膝流血。復以刀重斫、又還自傷。幸刀不利、不至於死. *Yiu ming luh.*

"face with a sharp sword, starting from the left shoulder in the "case of a man, and from the right if the patient is of the other "sex. Then scratch his nose with the point of that sword, and "insert one tenth of an inch of it into his nose, taking care to "hold him fast, so that he cannot move. He will then cry for "mercy in spectral language, and if then the spectre is asked: "'who are you, and what do you want here?' he will beg to be "allowed to go. At this juncture, some inches of the line marked "on the ground must be erased near the shoulder with the finger, "to allow the spectre to escape through it. It is absolutely necessary "to put the questions with the greatest precision" [1].

Swords also are of peculiar virtue if they have been in the possession of famous generals, or warriors who slew unsparingly, or eminent casters-out of devils; the awe which such men inspired still clings to the arms which they used. Men armed with such formidable instruments, according to many a tale, did not fear to sit quite alone in haunted houses throughout the night, and have brandished them with the completest success against apparitions of the most terrible description. Nowadays the two-edged sword is the indispensable *vade mecum* of wu-ist exorcists, also, as we have seen on page 985, in anti-epidemical processions. They often increase its effect by twining red cloth on the hilt and the guard. It is sometimes replaced by an one-edged sabre or tao [2], a weapon of great antiquity, which Wang Ch'ung (see page 935) mentions as a devil-expelling weapon used in his time. Both kinds as a rule are of iron, but very often of peachwood. Especially efficacious are those of wood of a tree which has been struck by lightning — a flash of the destructive, devil-killing light and fire of heaven. Even counterfeits in miniature suffice to drive or keep spectres away. In Amoy it is a common usage to wear these on the breast or at the girdle, preferably of willowwood cut on the fifth day of the fifth month, when, as we know (see p. 947), the sun, the supreme expeller

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[1] 以其人置地、利刀畫地、從肩起、男左、女右、令周回面。以刀鋒刺病人鼻、令入一分、急持勿動。其人當鬼神語求哀、乃問阿誰、何故來、當自乞去。乃以指滅向所畫地當肩頭數寸、令得去。不可不具詰問之也. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 5.

[2] 刀.

of demons, is in its theoretical apogee. Sui Yuen states, that in Shang-shan [1], in Chehkiang, the idea prevails that hill-siao take fright at the sight of swords of mulberrywood, because they are doomed to die immediately on being struck at with a sabre made from an old tree of this kind, and that they are therefore successfully repelled by such swords suspended at doors [2].

Evidently we have to rank in this category of amulets certain miniature swords of brass, to which is welded a round coin with a square hole in the centre. These curious objects may owe their origin to the tradition, generally admitted by Chinese as a matter of fact, that in ancient times small swords or sword-shaped coins were used as money. But it seems not unreasonable that the resemblance of a coin ◘ to the guard of a sword may more rationally explain the matter. Such charms are cast occasionally when temples are being erected or restored, for distribution among the inhabitants of the ward or parish, to avert the ills provoked by the building-works, especially by the disturbance of the spirits of the soil. They bear on the coin the title of the divinity to whom the temple is dedicated, *e. g.* 順天聖母, "Holy Mother, obedient to Heaven", who is the goddess of the Seas and patroness of sailors; the reverse shows the date, as 咸豐乙卯, "the year yih-mao of the Hien fung period" (1855). The blade may bear on one side 保百赤斯堂重建, and on the other 正殿上梁用, forming the phrase: "on the occasion of the rebuilding of the temple from which she protects her babies, for use when the ridge-pole of the principal hall is put up" [3].

If sword-shaped coins possess the power to cast out devils, there is no reason why swords composed of coins should not possess that power just as well. Such swords (see Pl. XI) are in the possession of many Chinese, and for sale in shops. Their length usually averages between four and six decimeters. An iron rod constitutes the foundation of the sword. By means of a double cord of a red, devil-expelling colour, which runs through the holes of the coins, some twenty or twenty five of these are affixed to the rod on either side, in such a manner that each partly covers the next one. The two rows of coins thus represent the two faces of the blade. The hilt is made either in

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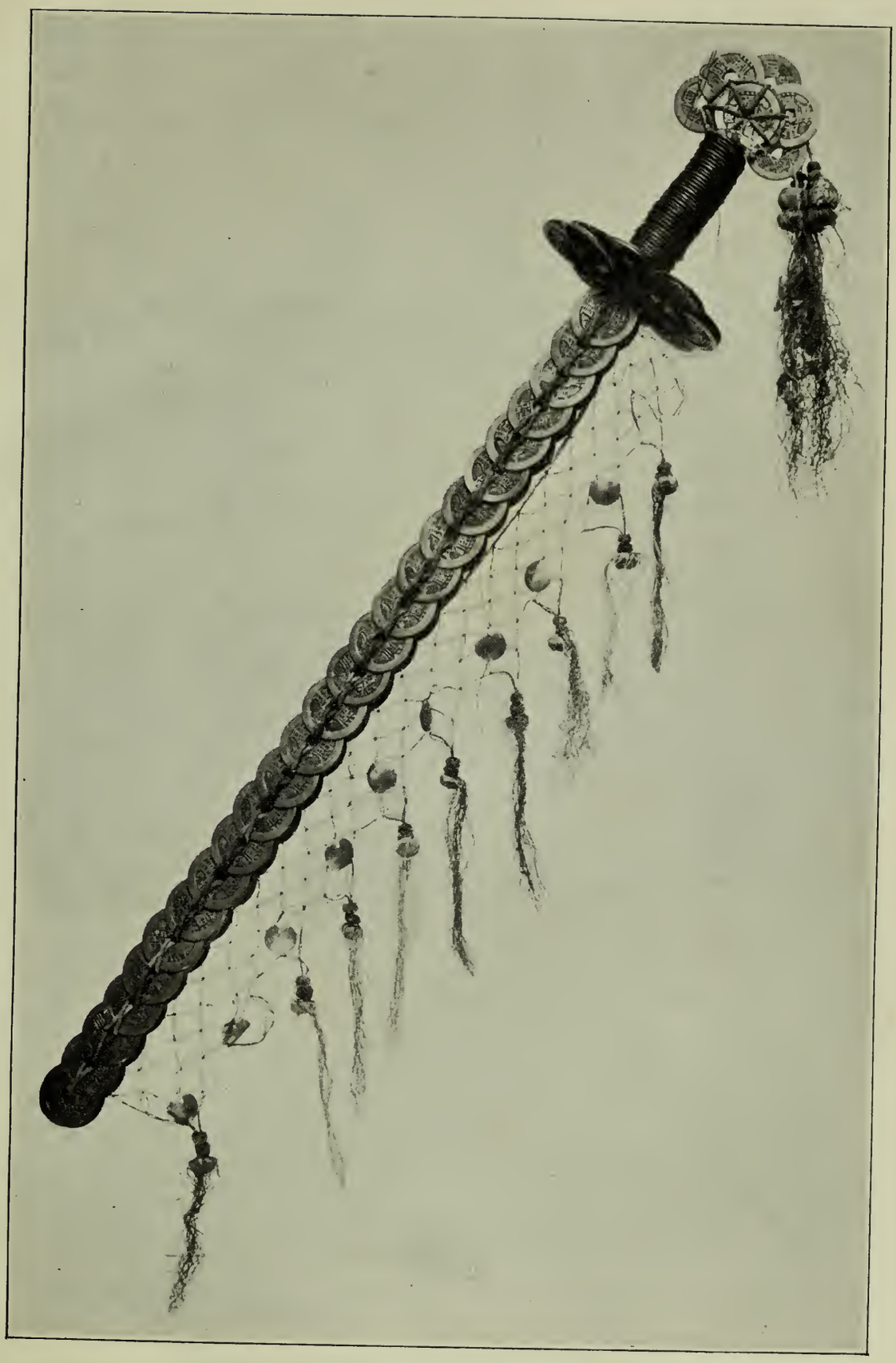
1 常山. 2 Supplementary *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 5.

3 Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, ch. 31. When houses or temples are being built, the ridge-pole of the roof is first of all put in its place by means of a temporary scaffolding which supports it.



Exorcising sword, made of coins.

the same way, or by simply stringing a pile of coins through their holes on the remaining part of the rod. The guard and the knob also consist of coins fastened on by means of red cords in two parallel sets. Many swords are decorated with small pendant tassels and coloured silk threads. A good coin-sword must contain no coins but those made in the reign of one emperor, for, since everything imperial has great exorcising power, the title of reign borne by each coin, and thus so frequently repeated in the sword, enhances the power of the latter enormously. No wonder that coin-swords are formidable weapons, never brandished in vain against evil, and peculiarly effectual when placed upon the sick, or upon mothers in childbed, or within the curtains of bridal beds.

Archers appeared, as we have seen, in the no processions of the Han dynasty. And not a few narratives in our chapters on Demonology have emphasized the prevailing conviction that spectres are not proof against bows and arrows. In Chinese books we also read of these weapons painted on doors and walls on New Year's day, beside shields and spears, on a freshly whitewashed background, since white, the opposite of black or the colour of the spectral world, keeps off spectres. Doolittle mentions the following charms for use on roofs: "Three arrows placed in an earthen tube, and "laid on the side of a roof, the tube pointing towards some distant "object, the arrows being fastened in their place by clay . . . . "A representation of a lad sitting on a three-legged nondescript "animal, with a bow in his hands, as if in the act of shooting "an arrow" [1].

Even such vulgar and primitive weapons as sticks or clubs have done excellent service against the world of demons since the days of Wang Ch'ung (cf. page 935). They are especially efficacious if made of wood of the peach, which spectres fear so much. But even when of simple willowwood they are effective, and likewise when of bamboo; in the panic of 1557 the people of Hung-cheu bravely brandished therewith (see page 482). A work of the sixth century states, that "on New Year's day willow branches were fetched and "fixed above the doors, so that no spectres entered the dwellings" [2].

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1 Social Life of the Chinese, ch. 31.

2 正月旦取柳枝著戶上、百鬼不入家. *Ts'i min yao shuh* 齊民要術, The important Art of ordering the People: an agricultural, industrial, and even medical work of the sixth century, or perhaps somewhat later.

In the southern parts of Fuhkien it has been customary, and perhaps is so to this day, to hang sticks of peach and willow at the doors when exploits of spectres are feared, and to thrash therewith people who have swooned owing to obsession or possession, until they come round; indeed we read the following lines in the Memoirs concerning the Chang-cheu Department:

"In the 36th year of the Kia tsing period (1557), in winter, "there were in the district of Lung-yen false rumours abroad about "horse-spirits, during whose visits comets (or Mars?) were seen falling "to the ground. Women who came across them suddenly became "drowsy, fell down unconscious, and had to be carried out and "thrashed with branches of peach and willow, to make them revive. "And in that district people hung out branches of peach and willow at "the doors, and crowded together at night, the women sitting in the "open air with the men around them for their protection, beating "on gongs and drums until the morning came.

"Just then an itinerant Buddhist priest was engaged in selling "charms. T'ang Siang, the prefect of the district, said: 'It must "be he who causes that spectral evil'. He arrested and examined "him, and thus found out, that to ensure an abundant sale of "charms, he had been speaking of devouring fires colouring the "sky entirely red. The ominous phenomenon thus had been produced "by a man! He was flogged and imprisoned, upon which the spectral "evil ceased.

"In the 29th year of the Wan lih period (1601) and in the "15th of that of Ch'ung ching (1642) the ominous phenomenon "occurred again, produced by the same magic. But old people knew "by that precedent that it was mere roguery; they caught all the "charm-vendors and killed them outright, on which the spectral "evil ceased" [1].

It is probably only a fragment of the original, with additions and alterations of later times. Of the author, Kia Szĕ-hieh 賈思勰, nothing is known but that he was Governor of Kao-p'ing 高平, in the present Shansi province.

[1] 嘉靖三十六年冬龍巖縣訛言有馬精者、其來也見火星隕地。婦人過之輒昏迷仆臥、必扶出、以桃柳枝撻之乃甦。縣境戶懸桃柳枝、夜則聚、婦女露坐、男子環守、鳴鑼鼓達旦。

適有流僧賣符。知縣湯相曰、此必爲祟者。擒而驗之、有烻火滿天紅之說、蓋預爲是以利其

Devil-expelling power is ascribed to the willow probably because the written names of this tree, yang 楊 and liu 柳, point to its relation with the universal light and the spring. Indeed, yang means the tree (木) of the Yang (昜 or 陽), and liu means the tree of mao (卯) or the second of the three cyclical characters which denote the East (B. I, p. 988) or the spring; that is to say, it is the tree of the midmost month of spring, which contains the equinoctial victory of light over darkness.

符之多售。孽自人作耳。撻而置諸獄、妖息。

萬曆二十九年崇禎十五年其孽復見、術如前。父老以前事知其弊、俱擒賣符者立斃之、妖遂絕· *Chang-cheu-fu chi*, quoted in T S, sect. 庶徵, ch. 172.

CHAPTER IX.

MIRRORS.

Among the objects which for many centuries have done good service for the Chinese people in its war against spectres, metal mirrors or king[1] are mentioned with special enthusiasm. We have seen (pp. 162 and 197) that in the fourth century of our era Koh Hung praised their usefulness, and we have no reason to doubt that posterity in all ages has conformed to the high opinion which that great master in magic and occultism cherished about those instruments. He asserted, that in ancient days travelling Taoist doctors used to protect themselves by mirrors fastened on their backs; and he taught that man may discover in a mirror the true shapes of animal-spectres which assume human form, and that he thus may compel them to take to their heels.

Koh Hung was not, however, the first discoverer of the spectre-conquering qualities of mirrors. We read in the *T'ung ming ki*[2], a little book ascribed to the first half of the first century of our era, that "on the Pavilion for contemplation of the toad (or the "moon, deemed to be inhabited by such a reptile), which was a "building a dozen chang high, was a metal mirror, four ch'ih "broad, which had been presented to the emperor in the Yuen fung "period (110—104 b.C.) by the state of Chi. If ch'i and mei were "visibly reflected therein, they could no. more assume the shapes "under which they disguised themselves"[3]. And the *Si-king tsah ki*

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1 鏡.

2 洞冥記, in four chapters, ascribed to Kwoh Hien 郭憲, a magician whose biography occurs in ch. 112, II, of the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, l. 4. The title, which means Penetration into Obscurity, is derived from the first page, which mentions a wonderful herb which dispels darkness.

3 望蟾閣十二丈上有金鏡、廣四尺、元封中有祇國獻此竟。照見魑魅不獲隱形. Ch. 1.

relates, that "the emperor Süen during his confinement in the "provincial prison (being involved in the famous sorcery cabal, as "we have related on page 842), wore on his body a precious mirror, "which came from the kingdom of Sindh and was as large as a coin "of eight chu in weight. According to an old tradition, evil mei "were visible in this mirror, so that he who wore it was blessed "with celestial happiness. Therefore, when he was released from his "precarious position and had ascended the throne, he regularly "held it in his hand" [1].

The peerless virtue of mirrors for unmasking spectres in animal shape has been elaborately expounded to mankind for all future ages by one Wang Tu of the Sui dynasty, in a booklet entitled *Ku king ki*, Record of his antique Mirror, which we have already mentioned on page 636. It relates how he received the precious object from one Heu Sheng [2], a scholar of extraordinary talents. "Wherever you bear it in your hands", declared this savant, "hundreds of sié will run away from men" [3]. A most beautiful mirror it was: decorated with an unicorn and the animals of the four quarters of the Universe, as also with the eight kwa, the characters of the duodenary cycle, and those representing the twenty four "breaths" or seasons; in other words, it was a representation of the Universe with the natural phenomena and the divisions of time, thus an image of the Tao or Order of the World, and therefore entirely destructive to all beings who disturb that Order by wantonly attacking men. And further the wise donor said: "Whenever the sun shines on this mirror, the ink of those inscriptions permeates the images which it reflects, so that they cannot possibly show any false shapes".

In the second year of the Ta yeh period (A. D. 606) Wang Tu set out on a journey to the Ch'ang-ngan country with his precious acquisition. And forthwith he found there an opportunity to test its miraculous value. While he was lodging in an inn in Ch'ang-loh, the inn-keeper complained to him of a slave-maiden answering to the name of Mrs. Parrot, a damsel of great beauty, whom a lodger of his had abandoned in the inn because she was ill. Forthwith it occurred to Wang Tu's mind that she might be

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[1] 宣帝被收繫郡邸獄、繫身毒國寶鏡一枚、大如八銖錢。舊傳此鏡見妖魅、得佩之者爲天福所福。故宣帝從危獲濟及卽大位、每持此鏡. Ch. 1.

[2] 侯生.

[3] 持此則百邪遠人.

a mei. He fetched his mirror, and — "do not kill me", she yelled at once, showing herself in her spectral shape. Wang Tu put away the mirror, and the damsel prostrated herself before him, confessing that she was a vixen a thousand years old, who lived by a large willow in front of the temple of a mountain-god. For some crime which she committed, this god wanted to arraign her, but she escaped and was adopted as a daughter by a certain person, who married her to one Mr. Parrot; it was this man with whom, after some years travelling, she had arrived in the inn. Now being discovered and deserving to die, she begged for permission to do so in a state of drunkenness; and Wang Tu called for wine, and invited the whole neighbourhood to come and see. In a short time the woman was so intoxicated that she began to dance and sing, and after changing into a vixen, she died.

This spectre-dispelling mirror regularly emitted so brilliant a light in the dark, that a glare was visible over every house where it was. In Jui-ch'ing, in the present province of Shansi, Wang Tu was told of a gigantic jujube tree growing in front of the prefect's mansion. It was several centuries old, and all people sacrificed to it, as else they might be sure to incur misfortune. Wang Tu, who felt suspicious, surreptitiously attached his mirror to the tree, and next night a thunderbolt resounded; rain and clouds shrouded the tree, and at daybreak a huge snake lay dead at its foot, as if pierced by lances. It had red scales, a vermilion tail, white horns, and the mark 王 on its forehead. Wang Tu told the magistrate to have the beast dragged to the suburb and burned; and on digging by the tree a cave was found, showing marks of the coils of a large snake.

Again in that same year, Wang Tu, who held the post of Censor with Jui-ch'ing for his residence, became Governor of the province of Ho-peh. A plague broke out there in consequence of a dearth. This was a good opportunity for the mirror to widen the sphere of its activity. Its first feat was the restoration to health of the whole family of an underling of the mandarinate by simply shining on them when it was dark; a mere glance of those people into the mirror sufficed to make them take fright and jump up, and to feel their burning fever immediately allayed by the damp and cool moon to which the shining mirror bore a resemblance. Numerous other people were thereupon cured by it in the same way. The mirror was now lent by Wang Tu to his younger

brother Tsih [1], because this man too had to undertake a journey.

Tsih returned after a three years' absence and gave an account of his adventures. Once upon a time, when sheltering in a large cavern, he found himself with two men, who entered into a conversation with him on literary topics. But they strayed so strangely from the subject of discussion now and then, that suspicion told him to use his mirror; he took it out of his box, and forthwith both men were struck dumb, and showed themselves respectively as a tortoise and a monkey. And as Wang Tsih suspended the mirror in the cavern, the two horrid creatures lay quite dead on the ground at daybreak; the tortoise had green hair, the monkey a hoary skin. On another occasion the mirror cured a girl of an illness caused by an old cock; but we have related this event on page 636.

Once also, while he was being ferried across the Yangtszĕ, his shining mirror had calmed the waves which a furious gale swept up. And with no less success he had treated with it three maids possessed by demons, and therefore labouring under constipation and suicidal mania. No sooner had the mirror shed its light upon them than they exclaimed: "my husband is murdered". The mirror was then sagaciously hung up near the spot till daybreak, when two old rats were seen with heads like wolves, long tails, bald, toothless and quite dead, besides a highly coloured lizard or chameleon as large as a hand and with two horns.

As is the case with everything in this world of change, there came an end to the miracles of this mirror. It was, of course, animated, and its spirit even had revealed itself to somebody in a dream; and, as Wang Tsih was told by a sage, divine beings never abide long in the world of men. In short, erelong he dreamed that the mirror announced to him its intention to depart. Then one fine day a piteous wailing resounded in the box; it grew louder and louder, in the end becoming like the scream of a dragon and a tiger's roar. When it became silent, he opened the box and found it empty. Never did the mirror return.

This tale, a fair survey of the notions entertained by the Chinese on the head of mirrors, teaches us that the magic power exercised by mirrors over spectres is in reality the power of the indwelling spirit, which, like yang spirits generally, may emit light. To people who know no better, reflected light is emitted light.

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[1] 勣.

Twan Ch'ing-shih too has a tale on anti-spectral mirrors. "In the "Tsi-nan fief (in Shantung pr.) stands the Fang mountain, where, "according to tradition, Hwan-sheng became an immortal genius. "To the south of that mountain is the cliff 'of the shining mir- "ror', three chang square. The ch'i and the mei, either when "busy or lying *perdu*, were quite visible in that mirror, until in "the time of the southern Yen dynasty (398—410) a coating of "varnish was laid over it. People pretend that it was the mountain- "spirits that varnished it, because they disliked its reflections" [1]. To the time of that author also belongs the tale, which we have given on page 606, of the Taoist doctor who by means of a looking-glass expelled rat-spectres which infested the public road in the guise of armed highwaymen.

We need not detain the reader on such miraculous Chinese mirrors as reflected the internal organs of men, thus showing malady-demons lurking therein. Suffice it to state the fact that antique mirrors are valued as preventives and medicines. Ch'en Tsang-khi wrote: "For convulsions caused by fright, for sié influences and all "ills from which babies suffer, a decoction from an antique mirror "mixed with medical potions is to be taken. The older the characters "on the mirror are, the more salutary is the operation of the me- "dicine" [2]. And Ta Ming (see page 398) said: Such mirrors "keep "away all sié and mei spectres whatsoever, and spectres which take "liberties with women, as also flying shi, and ku poison; they "facilitate childbirth, and cure violent heart-ache. They may also "be warmed in the fire and plunged into spirits, and the latter "be drunk. If vermin of any kind has entered the ears or nose, "then rub these organs with such a mirror, and the vermin will come "forth immediately" [3]. Li Shi-chen adds these remarkable lines:

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[1] 鏡石。濟南郡有方山、相傳有奐生得仙於此。山南有明鏡崖石、方三丈。魑魅行伏了了然在鏡中、南燕時鏡上遂使漆焉。俗言山神惡其照物故漆之. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 10.

[2] 驚癇邪氣小兒諸惡煮汁和諸藥煮服。文字彌古者佳. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 8, l. 27.

[3] 辟一切邪魅女人鬼交飛尸蠱毒、催生及治暴心痛。並火燒淬酒服。百蟲入耳鼻中、將鏡就敲之卽出. *Op. et loc. cit.*

"A mirror is the vital spirits (tsing) of the elements Metal and "Water, luminous within, and dark without. Antique mirrors as "well as antique swords work like the presence of gods (shen-"ming), and therefore drive away sié and mei spectres and "evil caused by encounters with them (see p. 695). All people should "hang up in their dwellings large mirrors, as these drive away "sié and mei" [1].

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[1] 鏡乃金水之精、內明、外暗。古鏡如古劍若有神明、故能辟邪魅忤惡。凡人家宜懸大鏡、可辟邪魅. *Op. et loc. cit.*

CHAPTER X.

DOGS AND BLOOD.

There is documentary evidence that dogs were slaughtered for exorcising purposes in China's classical age. In the chronicles of the ancient state of Ts'in [1], preserved by Szĕ-ma Ts'ien, we read "that the ruler Teh in the second year of his reign (676 B.C.) for "the first time celebrated the fuh (伏) ceremony, and by means "of dogs averted ku" [2]. And in another portion of his writings the same historian repeats this statement in these terms: "He performed "the fuh sacrifice and had dogs slaughtered or cut asunder at the "four gates of the city, as a means of defence against the damage "caused by ku" [3].

Native authors show themselves incompetent to account properly for these ceremonies. As these are mentioned nowhere else in ancient writings, there is room for the hypothesis that they had an exotic origin, like the house of Ts'in itself. Some authors suggest, that the ku which the ceremony professed to repel, denoted the deleterious influences of the hot season; indeed, as early as the Han dynasty, the first, second and third day after the summer solstice, or according to others, the third, the fourth, and the fifth after that solstice which were denoted by the character 庚 keng of the denary cycle, were called fuh jih 伏日, "days of withdrawal or submission", because at that time of the year the Yang was withdrawing before the growing Yin, or gradually submitting to it. Other authorities have connected the fuh sacrifice with the cutting asunder of victims, a rite which, as we have seen (pp. 973 *seq.*), took place at the city gates at the celebration of the exorcising no ceremonies. Be all this as it may, the fact remains that it is

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1 秦.

2 德公二年初伏、以狗禦蠱. Historical Records, ch. 5, l. 9.

3 作伏祠、磔狗邑四門、以禦蠱菑. Ch. 28, l. 4.

unexplained, and cannot even be guessed, why dogs in particular were designated for slaughter to avert evil.

The belief in the exorcising virtue of slaughtered dogs seems to have been at an early date firmly rooted in Chinese mind and life, for we read in a book of the second century: "According to "the writings of the Chief Astrologer (Szĕ-ma Ts'ien), the ruler "Teh of Ts'in was the first who killed dogs and cut them asunder "at the four city gates, in order to ward off calamities caused by "k u. At present the people still act upon this precedent when "they kill white dogs and mark the gates and doors with the blood, "or avert misfortune in the first month of the year with blood of "white dogs" [1]. These means of defence were in that time also occasionally resorted to in order to ward off dog-devils, for in the same book, after the narrative of the haunting dog which we have reproduced on page 574, we read the following lines: "In this "world, dogs often assume other shapes and act as spectres; they "are then promptly killed and the gates and doors are daubed with "their blood, in order to signify to them that all of them may "incur the same unhappy fate" [2].

Szĕ-ma Ts'ien's tradition about the slaughtering of dogs under the Ts'in dynasty may indicate that carcasses or pieces of those animals were exposed at the gates in order to neutralize devastating insects which (cf. p. 827) were designated by the word k u. In fact, carrion attracts swarms of insects. This consideration would render it intelligible why it is written that Hwa T'o, the celebrated leech of the third century (p. 686), has extracted a viper from a patient by means of a dog. "When Liu Hiun of Lang-yé was "Governor of Ho-nei, he had a daughter of twenty years with an "ulcer on her left knee, which was painless and healed, but then "re-appeared regularly after several dozens of days. This went on "for seven or eight years, until he asked Hwa T'o to visit the "patient. 'This patient is easy to cure', he said, 'get me a dog of "the yellow colour of rice-chaff, and two good horses'. He used "one horse to drag the dog abroad in a galop by a rope tied to

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[1] 大史公記秦德公始殺狗磔邑四門以禦蠱菑。今人殺白犬以血題門戶、正月白犬血辟除不祥、取法於此也. *Fung-suh t'ung i*, ch. 8.

[2] 世間多有狗作變怪、朴殺之、以血塗門戶、然衆得咎殃. Ch. 9.

"its neck, and when this horse was weary it was replaced by the "other one, so that when the horses had run more than thirty "miles the dog could move no more; yet still he had it dragged "abroad by men on foot for another fifty miles. On this he "gave the woman a medicine to drink, so that she lay totally "unconscious; then he cut open the belly of the dog with a large "knife in front of the hind legs, and placed the opening at a "distance of two or three inches from the open ulcer, and lo — "soon something like a snake crept out of this. Forthwith he "struck a nail sideways through its head with an iron hammer; "the beast for some time still wriggled within the skin, but then "lay quiet. He now drew it out — a complete viper more "than three feet in length, with orbits but no eyeballs, and a scaly "skin. Some unguent then cured the ulcer in seven days" [1].

At an early date, dog's blood found its way also into exorcising medical practice. Koh Hung indeed gave this recipe for spectre-blows: "Decapitate a white dog, and give such patients one pint of the hot blood to drink" [2]. This great patriarch of the faculty having thus spoken, Li Shi-chen wrote in his standard work, that besides some other diseases, "blood of a dog cures catarrh, fever, "mental insanity, visions of spectres and spectre-blows, averting "all demonry. Magicians consider dogs suitable for suppressing

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[1] 琅邪劉勳爲河內太守、有女年幾二十、左脚膝裏上有瘡癢而不痛、瘡愈數十日復發。如此七八年、迎佗使視。佗曰、是易治之、當得稻糠黃色犬一頭、好馬二匹。以繩繫犬頸、使走馬牽犬、馬極輒易、計馬走三十餘里犬不能行、復令步人拖曳計向五十里。乃以藥飲女、女卽安臥不知人、因取大刀斷犬腹近後脚之前、以所斷之處向瘡口、令去二三寸停之、須臾有若蛇者從瘡中而出。便以鐵錐橫貫蛇頭、蛇在皮中動搖良久、須臾不動。乃牽出長三尺許純是蛇、但有眼處而無瞳子、又逆鱗耳。以膏散著瘡中、七日愈. Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms, Memoirs of Wei, ch. 29, l. 5. Also Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 112, II, l. 7.

[2] 斷白犬一頭、取熱犬血一升飲之. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 4.

"ground-demons, and capable of averting any evil spectres what-"soever and sorcery" [1]. Yet other ingredients obtained from dogs are recommended by this great author for demoniacal and other diseases, and declared to be of various excellence according as the dogs are yellow, black, or white; and we need not doubt that his advice is often followed to this day.

The protection of gates and doors by means of slaughtered dogs being not mentioned in the Classics, it is doubtful whether the Han dynasty and subsequent imperial houses have practised it. Its exotic origin seems to be evidenced also by the fact that it re-appears in the Standard Histories as a practice of the Kitan Tatars. When Teh-kwang [2] or T'ai Tsung [3], the imperator of this people, in the first month of the year 946 conquered Pien [4] or the present Khai-fung, the capital of the house of Tsin, "he established himself in the "palace of this dynasty, and had the gates occupied by Kitan men; "and everywhere at the gates and side-buildings, the halls and "courts, dogs were cut asunder and their skins hung up, in order "to subdue evil" [5].

It may be suggested that the exorcising virtue of dog's blood explains also its use for disarming black magicians, whose power, as we know, consists in the main in that of spectres which they employ. On page 892 we have told of such a malefactor, who, having rendered himself invisible, was compelled by the application of such blood to show his material shape. We have also read on page 573 that animals, changed into men, may be unmasked by means of blood, and thus deprived of their power. And no doubt it was on account of alleged magical power, enabling him to stand torture, that father Perboyre, martyred in Hupeh in 1840, was forced by his judges to drink dog's blood [6].

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[1] 狗血又治傷寒熱病發狂見鬼及鬼擊病、辟諸邪魅。術家以犬爲地厭、能禳辟一切邪魅妖術. Ch. 50, I, l. 25.

[2] 德光. [3] 太宗. [4] 汴.

[5] 入居晉宮、以契丹守諸門、門廡殿庭皆磔犬掛皮、以爲厭勝. History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 72, l. 14.

[6] Huc, Christianity in China, IV, p. 335.

CHAPTER XI.

CLASSICAL AND OTHER WRITINGS.

Our readers remember the principle, that the spectres exorcisable by man are those which are sié or yin, or, in other terms, not existing or working under the auspices of the Tao or Universal Order (cf. p. 932). This dogma involves another: — whatever is ching or twan, that is to say, whatever responds to the Tao (cf. page 467), naturally expels and even destroys such spectres. Accordingly the Classics are excellent exorcising instruments.

Indeed, since the Han dynasty those books have ever been stamped by the most eminent and most learned of the nation as the sole guides of man for the cultivation of conduct in accordance with the Tao. They are, in other terms, the gospel of the Tao of man. It is they that teach the doctrines, principles, and works of the first and holiest ancestors, who better than any human creature knew the Tao, seeing that they lived while this was being established among the human race; nay it was they themselves who helped to establish it on this earth. The simple rules of logic and common sense therefore command that those books shall be slavishly followed as bibles for individual, domestic and social life; else mankind, which absolutely depends upon the Universal Order, and whose fate is determined by the manner and measure in which in all its doings it complies therewith, must go to wreck and ruin through the agency of the kwei. It is then the Classics, and a life and government framed thereon, which afford the very best protection against these beings; but for those books the kwei would certainly destroy the human race.

Hence it is that the scholar, imbued with classical doctrine and learning, and doing his very best to comport himself accordingly, actually stands beyond the reach of the power of evil. This is even the case with simple students, especially those who, as most of them do, believe themselves actual or future prodigies of scholarship. And mandarins, theoretically recruited from among the best of such

prodigies, and moreover actual parts of the machine of government which is entirely composed of classical principles, rules and rescripts, are of all mortal men farthest beyond the reach of demonry, unless, by neglect of duty or virtue, they wander away from the Way or Tao, and Heaven accordingly allows its spectres to attack and punish them. From all such scholars and would-be scholars a powerful anti-spectral influence emanates, putting the worst demons to flight, even maltreating them and bringing upon them death and destruction; and in particular this is the case with mandarins, to whom the Son of Heaven, the lord and master of all spirits in heaven and earth, has delegated his power. We shall have more to say on this subject in Chapter XX.

A copy, fragment or leaf of a classical work is a mighty charm which may be placed with advantage on sickbeds. Especially protective is the *Shu king*, in the main because of its section entitled *Hung fan*[1], the Great or Vast Plan (see p. 955), which among the classical rescripts for the government of the world stands first as the oldest collection, given to the Great Yü by Heaven itself in the 23rd century B.C. It points out which are the main subdivisions of the political system or the principal objects of governmental care, viz. food or agriculture; goods or industry; sacrifices; chief ministerial departments; reception of foreign envoys; military affairs; regulation of the business of the government and the people by means of chronology and chronomancy, astronomy and astrology; divination; perfection of Imperial virtue and duty; etc.

Wonderfully exorcising also is the *Yih king*. Should a lettered man feel unwell, or want to cure relations who are ailing, raving or delirious, or who have fainted, he will recite entire chapters of this Classic. Indeed, it contains the Tao itself in a nutshell, that is to say, a few dozen characters unfolding what the Tao is: the Yang and the Yin, producing the eight kwa or phenomena and components of the Universe represented by trigrams (cf. Bk. I, pp. 960 *seq.*). Therefore also, these lineal figures, preferably arranged in an octagonal (Bk. I, page 963) around the figure representing the T'ai Kih or the Yang and the Yin (Bk. I, p. 1042), are one of the best charms imaginable. It may be seen on sheets of paper or wooden planks affixed to walls, and many houses bear it above the main entrance, on the front of a square log of wood projecting a little out of the brickwork. Very generally also that same figure is worn as an

[1] 洪範.

amulet, engraved on a small slab of metal, tortoise-shell or other material.

We are justified then in suggesting, that the position of the Classics as expellers of demons is as old as their character of principal guides of mankind in the Tao, which they assumed under the Han dynasty. Documentally this suggestion is confirmed by the following narrative in a work of the second century: "When the emperor Wu (140—86 b.C.) "lay under the baneful influence of kwei and shen, and there- "fore placed the greatest confidence in wu from the Yueh region, "Tung Chung-shu (a celebrated Confucian scholar) frequently remon- "strated. The emperor, wishing to put the Tao of this man to the "test, told a wu to conjure evil upon him; but he put on his "court dress and, facing the south, recited a classical treatise, in "consequence of which no evil could be done to him; but the wu "himself suddenly died" [1].

Of Ku Hwan, the man of the fifth century of whose magical power the reader has heard on page 578, the following anecdote is related: "A person who had a patient suffering from a sié "illness, consulted him. 'What books have you at home?' he asked. "'None but the *Hiao king*', was the answer. On which Hwan "replied: 'Take Confucius, place it beside the pillow of the patient, "and respectfully pay worship to it (or him?); he will then be "cured'. And the sufferer did recover. Then somebody asked Hwan "what were his grounds for this advice. And he aswered: 'Virtue "expels vice, and ching conquers sié; it is this principle which "cured that patient" [2].

In the first half of the sixth century, a learned Confucian, named "Khüen Hwui or Ching-li, one night left the city by the east gate, "quite alone on a donkey, and perceived that he was joined by "two men, one of whom led the donkey by its head, while the

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[1] 武帝時迷於鬼神、尤信越巫、董仲舒數以爲言。武帝欲驗其道、令巫詛仲舒、仲舒朝服南面誦詠經論、不能傷害、而巫者忽死. *Fung-suh t'ung i*, ch. 9.

[2] 有病邪者問歡。歡曰、家有何書。答曰、唯有孝經而已。歡曰、可取仲尼、居置病人枕邊、恭敬之、自差也。而後病者果愈。後人問其故、答曰、善禳惡、正勝邪、此病者所以差也. History of the South, ch. 75, l. 18.

"other followed behind, behaving as if they wished to help him "to get home. They moved and walked with a degree of nimble- "ness which was not that of living men, and he was led "further and further from his path, until, totally mistrusting the "matter, he recited the first chapter of the first section of the "*Yih king*. Ere he had finished it, the men in front and behind "him faded away. Unconscious he slipped from his donkey and "fainted, not coming round until daybreak. He then perceived that "the place where he had fallen down was outside the wall, several "miles from his house" [1].

Written evidence of the conviction that the *Yih king* disables spectres has also been given us on page 893 by the *Tszē puh yü*: a man of letters by throwing some spectres, which a sorcerer had set loose on him, to the ground with a copy of that holy book, worsted them totally by putting the paper puppets, in which they had come to his house, between its leaves.

The Classics being the most powerful among charms, extracts from them must be so too. This inference stimulates the general love for classical inscriptions or antithetical phrases, written on scrolls for decoration of walls in halls and rooms, or inscribed on the fronts of houses on the charms of red paper of which we have spoken on page 959. True the use of such scrolls practically is to many members of the class of the learned dictated by a desire to signify to the admiring world their literary and caligraphic talents, mostly properly undersigned with their names and titles or impressions of their seals. True also it is that such inscriptions are objects of peculiar pride to the owners, who vaunt thereby their friendship or relationship with the illustrious worthies who made them. But this two-sided vanity does not do away with the fundamental motive of their use. No wonder that such mighty charms against spectral evil and promotors of happiness are highly valued in Chinese life as presents.

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[1] 權會字正理曾夜出城東門、會獨乘一驢、忽有二人、一人牽頭、一人隨後、有似相助其廻。動輕漂有異生人、漸失路不由本道、心甚怪之、遂誦易經上篇第一卷。不盡前後二人忽然離散。會亦不覺墮驢迷悶、至明始覺。方知墮處乃是郭外纔去家數里. History of the North, ch. 81, l. 29. See also the Books of the Northern Ts'i Dynasty, ch. 44, l. 13.

But also writings and sayings of all kinds, provided they be ching or respond to the Tao and classicism, are destructive to spectres and evil. Nothing in this field is so highly esteemed as a celebrated poem, known as the *Ching khi ko* 正氣歌 or Song of the Breaths of Rectitude, which extols the almighty influence which the Tao, composed of the two Breaths or the Yang and the Yin, exercises upon man, creating his highest virtues, among which fidelity to the Son of Heaven is the principal. The poem displays a series of historical instances of such fidelity, subsequently praising the influence exercised by the Tao on the poet himself, who, though suffering agony in a dungeon, was kept by it in the same path of undeviating loyalty. He, the celebrated minister and patriot Wen T'ien-siang [1], had heroically defended to the bitter end the hopeless cause of the house of Sung and its last youthful heir against the victorious Mongols, and at the final destruction of its armies fell into their hands. Conveyed to Peking, he composed the poem in his dungeon, and was executed by Kublai's order, because, as he declared, he could not possibly be a servant to two imperial houses. Here is a translation of that famous production:

"In Heaven and Earth or Universe the Breaths of Rectitude exist;
"Which, commingled, are lodged in all beings and flow through them;
"Below they form rivers and mounts,
"On high they compose the sun and the stars. [2]

"On mankind they work as a vast fluid,
"The immensity whereof filleth up both the blue empyrean and the realm of darkness;
"The conduct of the Emperor borroweth from them its purity and firmness;
"The harmony of them produceth enlightenment and equity,
"Which shineth out in perilous days from deeds of faithfulness,
"Set down one by one in red and blue ink. [3]

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[1] 文天祥.

[2] 天地有正氣
雜然賦流形
下則爲河嶽
上則爲日星.

[3] 於人曰浩然
沛乎塞蒼冥
皇路當清夷
含和吐明廷
時窮節乃見
一一垂丹青.

"In Ts'i were the writing-tablets of its chief recorders,[1]

In 547 B.C. Ts'ui Chu 崔杼 caused Chwang 莊, the ruler of Ts'i, to be murdered. The historiographer recorded the deed, and Ts'ui Chu killed him for it. Then the historian's younger brother recorded it again, and he too was put to death, whereupon a third brother did so, but was spared by Ts'ui Chu. Historical Records, ch. 23, l. 18.

"In Tsin was the writing-pencil of Tung Hu,[2]

In 605 B.C. the ruler of Tsin sent murderers to kill his minister Chao Tun 趙盾, who, however, fled, while his brother slew the ruler. Chao Tun was thus enabled to return, and did not punish his brother for his deed. Therefore Tung Hu, the chief historiographer of the state, recorded and published his name as that of the murderer of his prince, and Chao Tun, though in the summit of power, took no vengeance on him. Historical Records, ch. 39, ll. 28 *seq.*

"In Ts'in was the club of Chang Liang,[3]

This great champion of the cause of the founder of the Han dynasty against the realm of Ts'in is renowned for having in his youth made a daring attack on Shi Hwang, the imperator of this realm, in revenge for the destruction of the state of Han 韓, his fatherland, with the noblest of its families. At the head of a band of braves, in collecting which he had spent all his possessions, he made an onset on the said potentate with an iron club of 120 pounds weight, but he smashed the wrong carriage. Hist. Rec., ch. 55, l. 1; Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 40, l. 1.

"In the days of the house of Han was the faithfulness of Su Wu.

An envoy of the emperor Wu to the khan of the Hiung-nü in the second century B.C., who, though kept by the latter prince in custody for twenty years, could not be prevailed upon to own allegiance to him. His biography occurs in ch. 54 of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty.

"The head of the general Yen testifieth to their influence,[5]

Yen Yen 嚴顏, taken prisoner by Chang Fei 張飛 in the wars of the Three Kingdoms, was decapitated for scorning to abjure allegiance to his emperor.

"Moreover the blood of the Chamberlain Hi,[6]

That is to say, Hi Shao 嵇紹 who in A.D. 304 quite alone defended his emperor Hwai 懷, whose body-guard had fled; he fell under a shower of arrows, and his blood besprinkled his lord. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 89, l. 4.

"And the teeth of Chang in Sui-yang,[7]

In the eighth century, Chang Siün 張巡 heroically defended Sui-yang against the rebel Ngan Luh-shan 安祿山, but the city fell by famine, and he was put to death, refusing allegiance to the victor. His captors then perceived that his teeth had split in consequence of the vehement curses which he had uttered against the enemy during the siege. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 187 II, l. 15.

"And the tongue of Yen at Shang-shan.[8]

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1 在齊太史簡
2 在晉董狐筆
3 在秦張良椎
4 在漢蘇武節.
5 爲嚴將軍頭
6 爲嵇侍中血
7 爲張睢陽齒
8 爲顏常山舌.

Yen Kao-khing 顏杲卿 in the same campaign defended Shang-shan. After the fall of the town he was slowly carved to death by Ngan Luh-shan for refusing allegiance; his tongue was cut out, and still he continued to curse the rebel till death closed his mouth. Old Books, ch. 187 II, l. 11; and New Books, ch. 192, l. 3.

"Of them was the man in Liao-tung with the hat, whose purity was like unto deep water and unto snow;[1]

Kwan Ning 管寧, whose name of manhood was Yiu-ngan 幼安, lived in the second and third centuries of our era. He was a man of perfect virtue, who retired into far Liao-tung, refusing to accept high offices offered to him. He used to wear a plain black hat and linen clothes. His biography occurs in ch. 11 of the Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms.

"Forth from them came professions at the setting out of armies, such as moved spirits and gods to tears by reason of the heroism and ardent devotion which they breathed;[2]

Such a profession was sent to his emperor by the general Chu-koh Liang 諸葛亮 in the third century.

"Of them was the man with the oar, who as he crossed the stream, craved that he might swallow barbarians;[3]

In the fourth century the heroic Tsu Tʿih 祖逖 assembled an army to fight rebellious barbarians, and ferrying the Yangtszĕ beat the waves with an oar, exclaiming; "If I return without having purged the Middle Kingdom of their presence, and cross this stream again, may my body then float down with this river". He came back victorious. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 62, l. 17.

"And they brought it to pass that a tablet which hangeth from the girdle smote an insurgent, and cleft his hard contumacious skull.[4]

Twan Siu-shih 段秀實, a high minister of the Tʿang dynasty, was in 783 summoned by Chu Tsʿzĕ 朱泚, an insurgent, and invited to take his side; but though quite at the mercy of this man, the 65 year old hero drew the ivory tablet out of the girdle of an officer in attendance, and made an attempt to beat out the rebel's brains, at the same time spitting in his face and reviling him. He merely inflicted a wound, and was forthwith slain. Old Books of the Tʿang Dynasty, ch. 128, l. 5; New Books, ch. 153, l. 6.

"So hugely vast is the sphere filled by those Breaths,
"Their cold and heat will exist for countless ages,
"Even as the sun and the moon will have their being;
"How could man discuss their birth and death?[5]

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1 或爲遼東帽、清操厲水雪
2 或爲出師表、鬼神泣壯烈
3 或爲渡江楫、慷慨吞胡羯
4 或爲擊賊笏、逆豎頭破裂.
5 是氣所磅礴 凜烈萬古存 當其貫日月 生死安足論.

"By them do the cords of the earth keep it in its place,
"By them do the pillars of the empyrean hold it in its most glorious position;
"The three bonds of life are inextricably united with their decrees,
These bonds are: ruler—subject, father—son, husband—wife.
"And of the Way (of man) and Righteousness they are the root.[1]

"Alas, I live in a ninth period numbered with an odd number,
That is to say, in an age of calamity.
"As a state-servant whose power is as naught;
"So, like the prisoner from Ch'u, fettered, wearing his cap,
"I was transported in a car to the extreme north.[2]

The poet here compares his fate with that of one Chung-i 鍾儀 from southern Ch'u, imprisoned in Tsin, fettered and wearing his national headgear, who was sent in 597 B.C. by the ruler of Tsin as a messenger of peace to Ch'u. *Tso ch'wen*, ninth year of the reign of Ch'ing.

"Sweet as sugar were the contents of the cauldron;
"I asked for them, but got them not.
Kublai did not comply with his request to be put to death.
"This dark cell is so lonely with nothing but will-o'the-wisps,
"This vernal court is so dreary with its dark sky.[3]

This line is evidently borrowed from Tu Fu's eulogy on the 大雲寺 or monastery of the Great Clouds, in which we read: 天黑閉春院, "a black sky screens off the vernal court".

"With cows and horses I share a stable,
He was imprisoned in the cavalry head quarters, with soldiery to watch him; see his biography in the History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 418, l. 25.
"As it were a phoenix fed in a fowl-pen;
"Whenever a day hath passed in fog and frost,
"There, when the fog scattereth, am I, a thing of living bones lying in a ditch.[4]

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1 地維賴以立
天柱賴以尊
三綱實繫命
道義爲之根.

2 嗟予遘陽九
隸也實不力
楚囚纓其冠
傳車送窮北.

3 鼎鐺甘如飴
求之不可得
陰房鬨鬼火
春院閟天黑.

4 牛驥同一皂
雞栖鳳皇食
一朝蒙霧露
分作溝中瘠.

"Such hath been my fate now for two summers and winters,
"Unnumbered inclemencies of seasons have passed over me;
"O, this marsh, this swampy ground
"Nathless hath been for me a realm of rest and of delight;
"For could there be any error in this surety of mine
"That the Yin and the Yang cannot hold me as an enemy?[1]

"When I bethink me of the lives of such virtuous and loyal men,
"I lift up mine eyes to the white floating clouds,
"And the sorrow of my mind dissolveth in that void:
"Hath that blue empyrean any bounds?[2]

"Long since have passed away the days of those heroes and worthies,
"In the past lie their feats and bloody deaths,
"But as I unfold my scrolls beneath the windy eaves and read,
"The Way of Rectitude of old shineth so brightly in my face.[3]

Confidence in the Tao of the Universe and of Man must have been unbounded indeed in that old, long suffering martyr, who on the verge of death composed this poem. All men of letters ever since have admired it as a master-piece. As it is so thoroughly instinct with Tao, as thoroughly as its composer himself, nothing better could be selected for recitation in spectre-expelling processions by many mouths at a time (see p. 982). No wonder also that learned men, when staying in a solitary place or being abroad at night, feel themselves doubly courageous if they recite it. It does excellent service as a lullaby, should babies be restless because of the presence of spectres. Many learned and unlearned people know it by heart, or at least the first lines of it, for recitation whenever and wherever they believe themselves in danger.

The prominent position of the Classics as charms helps us to understand the deep respect manifested by the Chinese for their

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[1] 如此再寒暑
百沴自辟易
哀哉沮洳場
爲我安樂國
豈有他謬巧
陰陽不能賊.

[2] 顧此耿耿在
仰視浮雲白
悠悠我心憂
蒼天曷有極.

[3] 哲人日已遠
典刑在宿昔
風簷展書讀
古道照顏色.

Pl. XII.

Furnace for lettered paper.

written characters of all sorts. Characters indeed it is which compose the devil- and evil-destroying Classics; it is therefore they which are the very spring and soul of human happiness; it is then a deed of sheer madness to treat such precious protectors ill, or even carelessly. Even those who never received any instruction in the noble arts of reading and writing anxiously gather all scraps, printed, written or stamped, with a view to deposit them in baskets or boxes which schoolmasters and other scholars, zealots and shopkeepers suspend before their houses, and label with a red sheet of paper inscribed with the characters 敬惜字紙, "respect written paper and treat it with care". Whoever perceives a scrap on the floor or in the street will pick it up and put it in these receptacles, after having respectfully removed mud and filth with his hand or sleeve. The baskets are from time to time, after a second purifying manipulation of their contents, emptied into large brick furnaces bearing the same four characters, which are built up from the ground at street-corners, in alleys and temple-courts, and sometimes decorated with gaudy colours on a white ground. They have a chimney which is often gourd-shaped, and in front an opening for throwing the paper in (Pl. XII). They are called "furnaces or pavilions for lettered paper" [1], or "pavilions for showing respect to paper" [2], etc. Many small furnaces form parts of the walls of buildings. Occasionally the paper amassed in the furnace is set alight; and when it has been reduced to a mass of ashes, these are collected in earthen jars, to be preserved in a temple or elsewhere until there are many jars and the time has come to throw the ashes into a river or the sea. They are then for this purpose emptied into small bags or bamboo baskets, which are painted red, or decorated on the outside with red paper sheets.

All this is the work of so-called "lettered paper associations" [1], presided over by literary graduates of the ward. On an auspicious day, carefully selected by a fortune-teller and published by means of a proclamation, the members of the association assemble in a temple dedicated to the Gods of Literature, or, if the ward has none, in that of some other deity, where for this occasion a temporary altar is erected, bearing a tablet (see Pl. XIII) in which this inscription is carved: "Seat of the souls of the holy emperors Ts'ang-hieh and Tsü-sung", the inventors of the art of writing in the night of time.

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1 字紙爐 or 字紙亭.

2 敬字亭.

Many notables attend this meeting. They wear a ceremonial attire, or, if graduates, the official dress appertaining to their degree. With observance of the usual ritual they present a sacrifice to those gods, one of the committee informing the latter, by recital of a written statement, of the meritorious work which they are going to do. This document is burned, and the tablet is placed in a sedan-chair or in a portable pavilion (cf. Book I, page 164), to be carried in procession to the seashore or riverbank. The pavilion and the coats of its bearers are of the imperial yellow colour, public opinion being wont to ascribe imperial dignity to the two inventors. The bags with the ashes are rather heavy, because they contain also lettered potsherds respectfully collected within the ward for many years. Each bag is sealed up by means of two slips of paper, fixed crosswise on the outside. Coolies who carry them head the procession. A band of musicians follows; next comes the tablet, preceded by a cortége of policemen and Yamen servants, and finally come the graduates, the committee, and the notables, each with an incense stick between his fingers. Some banners and lanterns fixed to poles decorate the procession, which is long and pompous or short and plain according to wealth, devotion, and circumstances.

At the waterside the bags are placed in a boat, and, while the music plays, they are thrown overboard at some distance where the water is deep and limpid. Meanwhile the procession patiently waits on the shore till this holy work is finished. Then they carry the tablet back to the temple, and every one is thoroughly convinced that the saints who reside in the tablet, having witnessed in person the holy work, must be highly gratified, and feel bound to bless the ward with clever men attaining to literary and official ranks, thus rendering its members glorious and prosperous. The leaders in particular cherish satisfaction, for is it not in the first place on them that such blessings will descend? And their offspring, in order to secure this salutary effect to itself through the Fung-shui of their graves, takes good care to carve on their tombstones the same four famous characters 敬惜字紙, "he respected lettered paper and bestowed care on it".

In large towns such associations are numerous. Some have even a hundred members, each of whom pays a small contribution periodically. They erect and repair the furnaces, and gratuitously

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[1] 字紙會.

Tablet for the spirits of the inventors of writing.

distribute waste paper baskets among shopkeepers, or suspend them by the roads and streets, labelling them also with the name of the society. Some employ men to empty the baskets regularly into the furnaces, and to collect all scraps lying in the streets or adhering loosely to walls, or proclamations detached by rain and wind. They buy old account-books, unsold printed matter etc., and finally it is they who perform the ceremonial consignment of the ashes to the deep. In many cases, the committee of administration of a large temple is charged by the association with all this work within the parish, or even performs it on its own account, defraying the cost out of the funds of the temple.

But the sphere of action of "lettered paper societies" is much wider. They are wont to save writing from profane use and desecration by posting up in streets and squares the same four characters, and also by having written and printed, for gratuitous distribution, tracts and booklets dilating on the evils which are bound to befall the profane, and on the blessings which the gods are sure to bestow on those who show respect to writing. Such productions frighten sinners with the prospect that they will be born blind or become blind in a future existence; that they will have to suffer dreadfully in hell; that even in this life they will see their own fortunes decay and the ruin of those of their offspring, nay the destruction of the offspring itself. On the other hand, they who save paper from profane use or abuse are promised peculiar length of life, prosperity and glory for themselves and their descendants, and an offspring innumerable. But as paper may be treated well or ill in different degrees, the tracts express the merits or demerits in ciphers. The highest cipher is assigned to the writing and printing of exhortatory tracts at one's own cost, a very high cipher of demerit to throwing lettered paper away in an unclean place or defiling it with dirt. In drawing up such ready reckoners the authors pose as prophets, borrowing their ciphers from their imagination; or they copy them at random from other tracts of the kind.

Mandarins, even Provincial Governors and Governors-General, not seldom exhort the people by proclamation to treat lettered paper with due reverence, reminding them of the blessings which they may derive therefrom, and the evil which they may thereby avert.

Is it to be wondered at, that in the fabulous time when Tsü-sung and Ts'ang-hieh invented the precious art of writing, the spectral world howled for despair? It is Liu Ngan who assures us that it

did: — "anciently when Ts'ang-hieh invented writing, and Heaven sent down showers of rice, the spectres wailed at night" [1] — for, says the commentator Kao Yiu, "they apprehended that they would be persecuted by means of written characters" [2]. It has been proposed to read this statement in the light of the fact that spectres sometimes assume the shape of rabbits and hares, and writing-brushes are made of the hair of these animals, so that it must have been the prospect of losing their hair which made them wail [3]. But the author of the *'Rh-ya yih* [4] has judiciously remarked that Hü Shuh [5], the man who suggested this explanation, overlooked the fact that writing-brushes were not used until the Ts'in dynasty, thousands of years after Ts'ang-hieh's time.

A very high rank among exorcising books is assigned in China to the almanack. This actually is a classical book, since the principles on which it is framed are believed to be as ancient as culture itself; moreover there is evidence that almanacks in some form or other existed in classical days. But apart from all this, the almanack points out to the nation which days are fit or unfit for important actions, thus teaching man how to behave in accordance with the annual revolution of time, which is the Tao or Course of the Universe. Thus being, just like the Classics, a compass-needle showing man how to move in the line of the Tao, the almanack is an exorcising instrument of the highest order. For the special purpose of keeping their people in the path of the Tao, it has from very early times been published by the emperors themselves, and whatever emanates from a Son of Heaven overawes spectres and keeps them in complete subjection (cf. page 1011).

Chinese of all classes thus have the very best reasons to allow that the almanack expels demons. No dwelling may lack a copy, or its title-page in miniature, printed on purpose with one leaf attached, and sold as charms in accordance with the *pars pro toto* principle, for one coin by vendors of sham paper money, booksellers

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1 昔者倉頡作書而天雨粟、鬼夜哭. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 8, l. 5. See also *Lun heng*, ch. 22, l. 18.

2 鬼恐爲書文所劾故夜哭.

3 This ingenious suggestion may rest on the supposition that in Liu Ngan's statement the character 鬼 "spectre" must be read 兎 "rabbit or hare".

4 Art. 兎. 5 許叔.

or stationers. This charm is hidden in beds, corners, cupboards and such like, or worn in the clothes. No bride passing from her paternal home into that of her bridegroom may omit it among the exorcising and auspicious objects with which her pocket is filled; there are then also printed on it some felicitous phrases bearing upon her married life. When the year has passed and the new almanack is out, the old copies are useful as exorcising medicine. "In cases of "fever caused by spectres", wrote Hu Yung in his *Wei sheng i kien fang* (see p. 866), "take a complete almanack of a past year, "burn it to ashes at the midday hour of the summer solstice, and "make pills of the ashes with Elœococca seeds; fifty pills to be taken "with w u-kĕn (?) water in the early morning when the fever has "been at its height" [1].

The belief in the power of writings over the demon world is fully shared by Buddhists in regard to their own sacred books. Their train of thought, however, here moves in a somewhat different line. Buddhist sutras professedly are sermons of Buddha, and in Mahayanism, which prevails in the empire, Buddha represents the Universal Light, and his preaching the shining of it, which dispels darkness, and its spectres or Maras. We shall, of course, find those holy books again in this rôle in our Book on Buddhism.

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[1] 邪瘧用隔年全歷、端午午時燒灰、糊丸梧子、大發日早用無根水下五十丸. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh* ch. 38, l. 15.

CHAPTER XII.

SPELLS AND CHARMS.

The reader knows (cf. p. 905), that among the instruments, used by sorcerers for diabolical purposes, charms, verbal or written, commanding or inciting spirits to work evil, occupy a prominent place. This means that man may force spectres into obedience by explicit orders. As a consequence, it must be possible also to drive them away by the same means, especially if the orders are enhanced by alarming threats. The fact actually is that spells and charms play the predominant part in the Chinese system of exorcising magic.

The power attributed in China to spells and charms is really so great that we may call it unlimited. This fact is inseparably connected with the phenomenon, on which we had to lay peculiar emphasis on page 917, that words are no idle sounds, nor characters or pictures are merely ink or paint, but that they altogether constitute or produce the reality which they express or represent. And as any desired magical effect may be expressed in words or writing, it follows as a matter of course that by means of charms and spells every imaginable thing may be effected.

This legitimate inference from a principle which, though senseless, naturally dominates childish minds which always are ready to accept impressions as facts, has become a factor of great moment in China's religion. It has given to Taoism in its early phase of growth a complete system of religious magic, styled p i f a h 祕法 or Occultism. By means of spells and charms its priests to this day exercise an unlimited influence upon the s h e n and k w e i, and consequently on the Yang and Yin or the Universal Order which, as we know (cf. p. 929), those beings constitute. A broad exposition of the Taoist system in 268 chapters, entitled *Tao fah hwui yuen* [1] or Collected

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1 道法會元. In the great *Tao tsang* 道藏 or Taoist Canon, printed by Imperial order of the seventh month of the year 1598, it forms the cases 400 to 427 (from 移 to 盤).

Fundamentals of Taoism, categorically sets forth in its very first chapter, that spells and charms are the principal expedients for commanding the shen, for expelling and killing kwei, and for exercising influence upon Heaven and Earth. Indeed, by means of charms and spells Taoist priests in all ages to this day have called down gods to receive sacrifices and bestow felicity; by means of charms and spells they have made thunder, rain and snow, or stopped rainfall and produced fair weather, either with or without the intervention of gods; they have in the same way turned away or annihilated swarms of locusts, prevented onsets of tigers, banditti or insurgents, warded off conflagrations, delivered souls of the dead from misery and distress, and raised them to a better condition; etc. The construction and use of spells and charms is inseparable from Taoist Ritualism; they are the occult science which enables China's religion to achieve its ultimate aim, promotion of human happiness as well in this life as in the future. We shall therefore have to pay much attention to the subject in our Book on Taoism.

But, besides, high class miracles are wrought in China, and have been wrought in all ages, with charms and spells in non-Taoistic circles. Men have used them for the purpose of changing themselves into tigers (see p. 169); they are their weapons for combating dangerous or noisome animals, commonly identified with spectres. Charms and spells expel mosquitoes, prevent moths and rats from gnawing at clothes, insects from destroying harvests; and good specimens, which can effect such wonders, may be copied by any one from handbooks of good advice in daily life. Such useful charms and spells are far from modern. We read in the Standard History of the Tsin dynasty, "that at Kao-p'ing (in Shansi) Liu Jeu, while "asleep at night, was bitten at the middle finger of his left hand "by a rat. He consulted Shun-yü Chi (see p. 580), who said: 'This "beast wanted to kill you, but could not succeed; I shall now "kill it in revenge'. And having drawn round his pulse a red "line, and three inches from it the character 田, one inch and "two tenths square, he ordered him to leave this hand uncovered "while asleep; and next morning a big rat lay dead close by it"[1].

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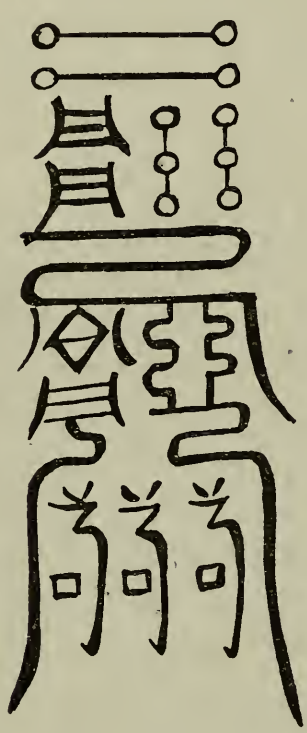
[1] 高平劉柔夜臥、鼠齧其左手中指。以問智、智曰、是欲殺君而不能、當爲君使其反死。乃以朱書手腕橫文、後三寸作田字、可方一寸二分、使露手以臥、明旦有大鼠伏死手前. Ch. 95, l. 12.

And Hü Mai, a Taoist recluse and magician of the same fourth century [1], "was troubled by rats gnawing at his clothes. He made "a charm which summoned them to the inner courtyard of his "house, where he harangued them in these terms: 'Those that "have gnawed at my clothes must stay here, but those among you "that did not so must begone!' On this all the rats ran away, "except one which remained in the courtyard flat on the ground, "not venturing to move" [2].

To this day, charms are written and sold in great numbers in order to be put up at home for destruction and expulsion of rats and mice without the help of cats. Others afford protection against grubs, worms or gnats; others again (Fig. 1) keep off burglars and thieves; some are mentioned which, being burned at home in the stove, brought back thieves together with their spoil. The palm of perfection seems almost carried off by the spell which effected the following wonderful feat which Twan Ch'ing-shih records: "The priest "Pien of the monastery of Longevity related "how at a time when he was in Heng-shan "(in Hunan pr.), a villager was bitten by "a poisonous snake and died immediately; "his hair fell out, and a tumour more "than a foot high came up. His son said: "'We should have nothing to fear if we "had the old Tsan here'. This man was "sent for; he strewed a circle of ashes round "the body, and made four openings in "that circle, stating however beforehand "that he could not save him should the "snake enter it close by the feet. He then paced out special figures, "and manipulated the victim for a long time, but no snake came. "Tsan now flew into a passion. He took some pints of cooked rice,

Fig. 1.



Charm to keep off thieves.

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1 See his biography in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 80.

2 許邁有鼠嚙衣。乃作符召至中庭、曰、嚙衣者留、不嚙者去。羣鼠并去、惟一鼠伏于中庭而不敢動. *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 7, I, l. 125; drawn from the *Shan t'ang szĕ khao* 山堂肆考, a work which I have not yet seen.

"kneaded them into the shape of a snake, and pronounced a spell "over this, and lo, suddenly it wriggled and moved out of the "door. After a few moments this snake of rice led another snake "into the circle close by the head of the corpse; this animal directly "set to sucking the tumor, and the corpse began to move its "head; and while the snake became covered with blisters, shrivelled "and died, the villager revived" [1].

Indeed, since they create the reality which they represent or express, spells and charms can produce living beings. Yü Pao relates, "that Sié Kiu, while entertaining guests at his table, cast a charm "written in red characters into the well, and — a pair of carp "jumped out of it. He gave orders to make a hash of them, and "there was enough of this dish to let each one of the company "have a portion" [2]. — "In the time of the reign of the pretenders "of the realm of Shuh (903—925), the Taoist doctor Hwang Wan-hu "of the Kao-t'ang monastery in the Wu mountains studied the magic "of 'the seven metamorphoses of the White Tiger'. The Governor "of Jung-cheu, Wen Szĕ-lu, also had a playful magic, which con-"sisted in cutting fishes out of paper with scissors, and throwing "them into a dish, whereupon they became alive. Wan-hu threw a "charm into the dish, and this charm changed into an otter which "devoured the fishes" [3].

"Yen T'ing-chi became Governor of Wei-cheu, and had just "entered on his duties, when, while he was sitting in his court

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[1] 長壽寺僧辯言、他時在衡山、村人爲毒蛇所噬、須臾而死、髮解、腫起尺餘。其子曰、咎老若在、何慮。遂迎咎至、乃以灰圍其尸、開四門、先曰、若從足入則不救矣。遂踏步固握久而蛇不至。咎大怒。乃取飯數升、擣蛇形詛之、忽蠕動出門。有頃飯蛇引一蛇從死者頭入、徑吸其瘡、屍漸低、蛇皰縮而死、村人乃活. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 5.

[2] 謝糺嘗食客以朱書符投井中、有一雙鯉魚跳出。卽命作膾、一坐皆得徧. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 3.

[3] 僞王蜀時巫山高唐觀道士黃萬后學白虎七變術。戎州刺史文思輅亦有戲術、曾剪紙魚投於盆內而活。萬戶投符、化獺而食之. *Poh mung so yen*, quoted in T S, sect. 神異, ch. 284.

"of justice, a small snake entered through the gate, crept to "the bench, and placed its head upon it. T'ing-chi, who did not "know what to think of this, quickly seized his ivory sceptre "and crushed the head of the beast, which fell to the ground, "raised itself straight up quite stiff, and quick as thought "changed into a charm. T'ing-chi suspected a magician, and forth-"with had him sought for; but as he failed to catch him, nothing "else happened" [1].

Is it, after all, strange that Chinese books tell of clever magicians who by means of charms and spells converted water into wine, stone into metal, or any substance whatever into another? Most wonderful charms are mentioned by Koh Hung. The Taoist Koh Yuen [2], thus he wrote, could live without food, see spectres, and rule and kill them; he could place himself in a fire without the slightest harm to his body or even his clothes, and sleep out a drunken fit on the bed of a turbulent stream. This wonderful man came to a river with his disciple, and there resolved to display the power of the charms which he possessed. One, thrown by him into the current, moved up against it; another, likewise thrown out, did not float away, but finally the two charms approached and touched each other. Then perceiving a laundress on the bank, he threw a charm into the water with intent to make her run away; and indeed she did so at full speed. "Now I shall stop her", said the wizard, and she actually stood still as soon as he had thrown another charm into the water. The woman being then asked what made her run away, she said she did not know [3].

Much greater, according to the same author, was the power of the celebrated charm of Kiai Siang [4], another Taoist magician, who, while displaying his feats before the king of Wu, hooked and landed a splendid sea-fish out of a small pit just dug, and filled with water for the purpose. While it was being prepared in the

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1 嚴挺之爲魏州刺史、初到官廳事有小蛇從門入至案所、以頭枕案。挺之初不達、遽持牙笏壓其頭、下地、正立、凝想頃之蛇化成一符。挺之意是術士所爲、尋索無獲而止. K K, ch. 457, quoted from the *Kwang i ki*.

2 葛元.

3 *Shen sien ch'wen*, ch. 7.

4 介象.

kitchen for the king's table, His Majesty complained that he had no ginger from Shuh (Szĕ-chʿwen) to eat with the fish. On which Kiai Siang forthwith wrote a charm, put it into a green bamboo reed, and told a servant of the king to ride thereon with closed eyes to that distant region, buy ginger there, close his eyes again, and ride back on the reed to the court. In a moment the man reached Chʿing-tu, the chief city of that region. There in the market an envoy from Wu recognized him, and gave him a letter to carry to his family at home. The servant acquitted himself of this charge and rode back to the Palace, where he arrived ere the fish was yet ready. All this was the work of that charm [1].

And hardly less miraculous were the charms used by a great magician of the Tʿang dynasty, whose name was Ming Chʿung-yen [2]. One of the Standard Histories of that house relates "that the "emperor Kao Tsung, in order to try what that man could do, had "a cave made, and ordered some palace servants to make music "therein. He then called Chʿung-yen, and asked him what good or "evil this music portended, and whether he could stop it for "him. Chʿung-yen then wrote two charms on peachwood, fixed "them in the ground over the cave, and immediately the music "ceased. The musicians then declared that they had seen a strange "dragon, which frightened them so much that they could not "continue" [3].

This anecdote, owing to its place in Standard History, represents in China sterling truth; yet it was evidently no better than an old yarn in a new dress. It is indeed recorded in the Standard History of the Later Han dynasty, that Sheu Kwang-heu, who, as we have related on pp. 629 and 655, delivered a sick woman from a snake which had bewitched her, and by his magical power killed a tree in which dwelt a snake-demon, performed a similar feat. "The emperor Chang (A.D. 76—89) on hearing of those wonders, "summoned him to court. 'Under my palace', said he, in order to "put his magic to the test, 'there always flit about at midnight "some persons in red dress and with dishevelled hair, moving in a row

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1 *Shen sien chʿwen*, ch. 9.

2 明崇儼.

3 高宗試爲窟室、使宮人奏樂其中。召崇儼問何祥邪、爲我止之。崇儼書桃木爲二符插室上、樂卽止。曰向見怪龍、怖而止. New Books, ch. 204, l. 9.

"and bearing lights in their hands; I wonder whether you can "restrain them'. 'Such apparitions of so little moment', said Heu, "'are so easy to dissolve'; and the emperor ordered three men to "simulate them; but as Heu did his work, they all fell to the "ground immediately and ceased to breathe. The emperor was "stricken with fright; 'they are no spectres', cried he, 'I merely "wanted to see what you can do'. On this the other dissolved the "enchantment, so that they revived" [1].

Yü Pao, recording this story, states that it was related of Liu P'ing, an immortal Taoist whom we have mentioned on page 655. "It is "said that there were apparitions under the Palace in the time "of the emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, and that beings in red "dress and with flowing hair were always seen running in a row, "with lights in their hands. The emperor interrogated Liu P'ing, "saying: 'Can you do away with those beings?' The answer was "in the affirmative; he took a blue charm and flung it away, and "several spectres became visible and tumbled down. The emperor "took fright and exclaimed: 'I wanted to put your power to the "test'. Liu P'ing therefore broke the enchantment, and thus revived "them" [2].

Ming Ch'ung-yen by means of charms called dragons from the sky on yet other occasions. "When the wife of Liu Tsing, prefect "of the district of Shuh under the T'ang dynasty, was ill, the "Censor Ming Ch'ung-yen examined her and said: 'We must get "the liver of a living dragon for her to eat; it is sure to cure "her'. And as Liu Tsing retorted that such a liver was not obtainable, "Yen wrote a charm and caused it to fly up in the sky with the "wind. Instantly a dragon descended into a jar of water. He cut

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[1] 帝聞而徵之。乃試問之、吾殿下夜半常有數人、絳衣被髮、持火相隨、豈能劾之乎。侯曰、此小怪易銷耳。帝僞使三人爲之、侯劾、三人登時仆地無氣。帝大驚曰、非魅也、朕相試耳。解之而蘇. Ch. 112, II, l. 18.

[2] 或云漢武帝時殿下有怪、常見朱衣披髮相隨持燭而走。帝謂劉憑曰、卿可除此否。憑曰可、乃以青符擲之、見數鬼僵地。帝驚曰、以相試耳。解之而甦. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 2.

"the liver out of it, and gave it the patient to eat, who thereupon "recovered" [1].

Charms and spells may even endow people with *clairvoyance.* Among the notes disseminated numerously throughout the Code of Laws as instances illustrative of the proper distribution of justice, we find the following:

"Sun Yen-sheng worked with yuen-kwang charms and spells. "If anybody missed anything, the said man hung up a sheet of white "paper, muttered spells, burned charms, and told a boy to fix his "eyes upon the paper; and the said boy then beheld the face and "clothes of the thief. As he did not use any portraits or images, nor "caused any crowds to gather, his punishment shall be the same as "that which the Law demands for those who stir up and mislead "people with false doctrine and heterodoxy, but merely as accom- "plices; that is to say, it shall be the maximum grade of perpetual "banishment. This sentence was given in Chehkiang, in the twelfth "year of the Khien lung period (A.D. 1747)" [2].

One final illustration of the enormous power which the Chinese people ascribe to spells, we will give in the following lines from Sui Yuen's work:

"In Yunnan and Kweicheu the use of sorcerous charms for pur- "poses of black art flourishes more than anywhere. In the last-named "province, the Chief Justice Fei Yuen-lung was on a journey to "Yunnan, when his slave, a man of the Chang tribe, suddenly "cried aloud from the horse which he rode, and fell off with his "left leg gone. His master, convinced that a sorcerer had done this, "proclaimed that any one who could restore the leg should be "rewarded with a certain sum. Thereupon an old man appeared, "and said: 'It is N.N. who did it; Chang, relying on his master's

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[1] 唐蜀縣令劉靖妻病、正諫大夫明崇儼診之曰、須得生龍肝食之必愈。靖以爲不可得、儼乃書符乘風放之上天、須臾有龍下入甕水中。剔取肝、食之而差. *Chao yé kien tsai*; T S, sect. 神異, ch. 306.

[2] 孫彥生習有元光符咒。遇人失物、挂一白紙、誦咒燒符、令童子向看、卽見竊物人面目衣服。並無圖像、亦未集衆、比照左道異端煽惑民人爲從律滿流。乾隆十二年浙江案. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, ch. 16, the sixth title.

"power and prosperity while in the province, perpetrated a very "wicked deed, in return for which that man has played that scurvy "trick upon him'. Chang in despair begged for his help; and the old "man took a leg as small as a frog's out of a parcel which he had "on his shoulder, breathed upon it, and pronounced a spell; then "he threw the leg towards Chang, with the result that the latter "found himself again in possession of two legs. The old man then "went away with the reward"[1].

Since charms may produce whatever condition they express, the Chinese people have always been wise and clever enough to fabricate a large number expressing felicity of various kinds, in order to use them by way of decoration on embroideries, crockery, and all sorts of objects. In particular, characters expressive of blessing are used to this end, as 壽 or longevity, and 福 or felicity; these are even written out or printed on scrolls, or embroidered on silk, in a hundred and even more different forms, archaic or fanciful (see Pl. XIV), and suspended in houses and rooms. There we may also see on the walls paintings or embroidered silks, showing a great number of boys hopping about with all sorts of playthings, or graduates and mandarins, or P^{c}eng-tsu (see p. 303), the Methuselah of China, extremely old, but strong, with a forehead of peculiar height. Symbolical representations of felicities are extensively used to the same end. Many we have already mentioned in this work, as dragons producing rain and fertility; stags bestowing merriment and old age; ducks and phenixes promoting conjugal felicity and love; cranes which lengthen life and give happiness; tortoises which endow man with longevity, and bats furthering his felicity; furthermore, unicorns blessing man with sage and excellent rulers, and his family with official dignitaries; coins and pears producing wealth and pecuniary profits; rice, peas and wheat securing numerous offspring. This list might be drawn out to a great length and

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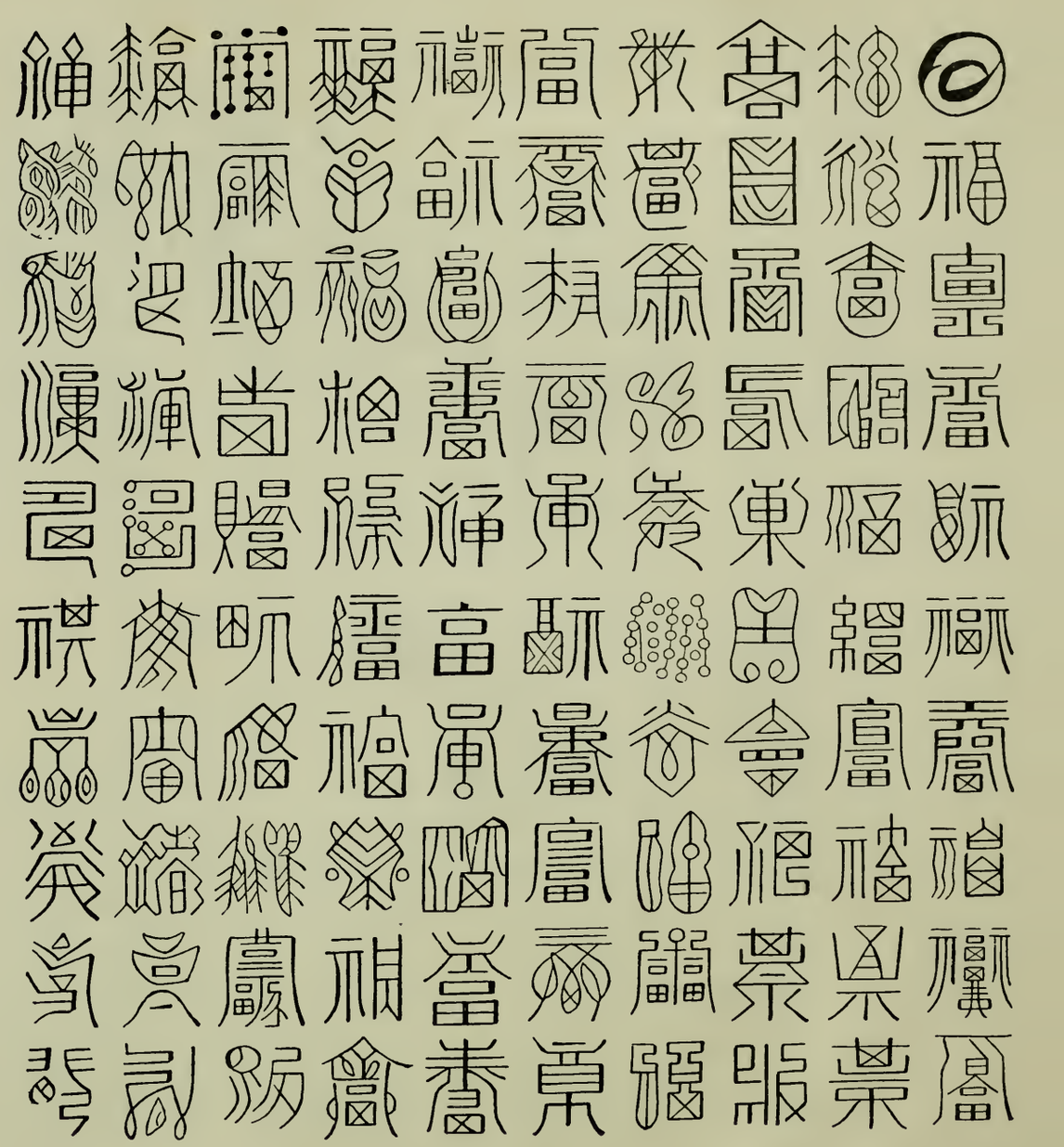
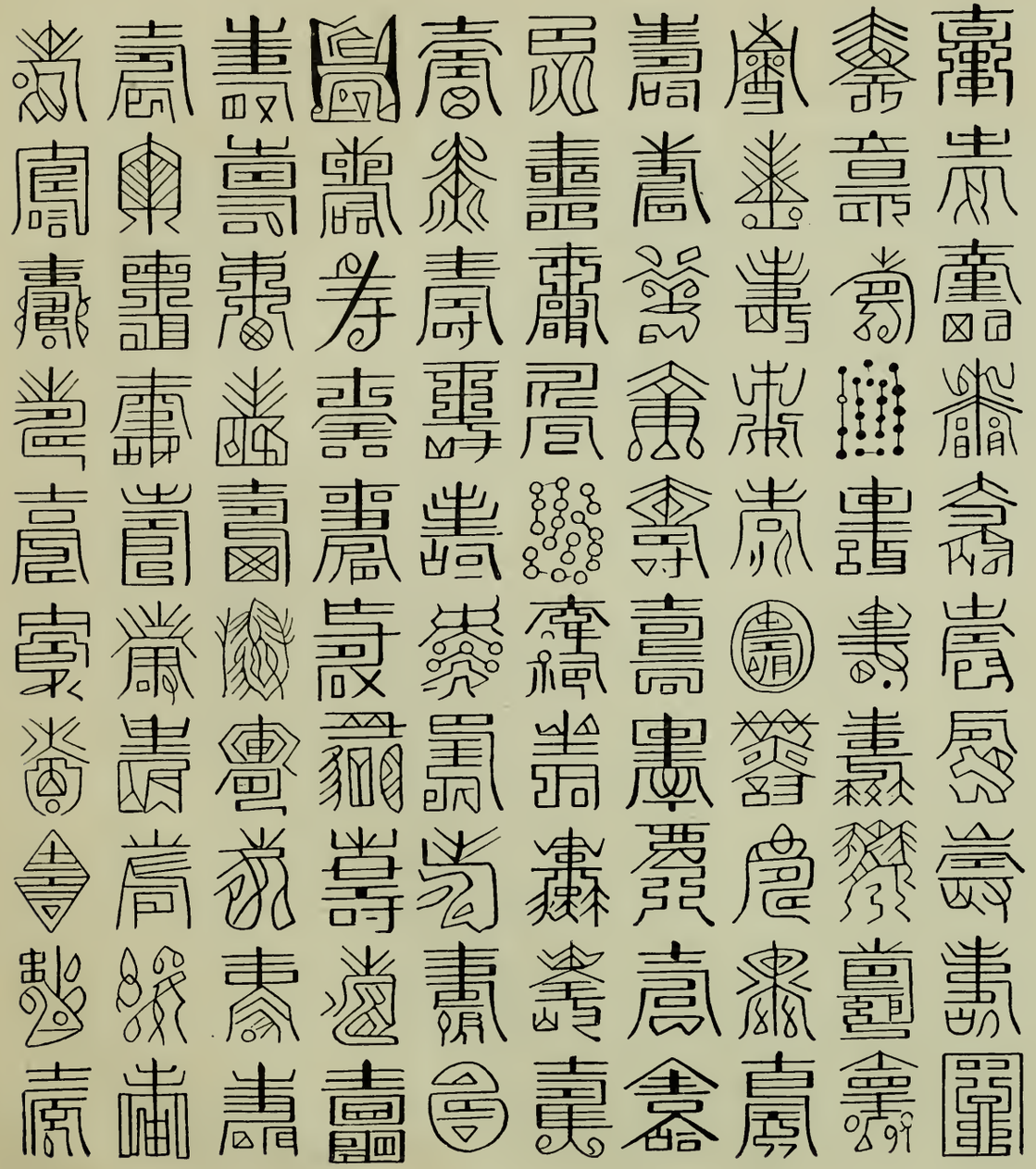
[1] 雲貴妖符邪術最盛。貴州臬使費元龍赴滇、家奴張姓騎馬上忽大呼、墜馬、左腿失矣。費知妖人所爲、張示云能補張某腿者賞若干。隨有老人至、曰是某所爲、張在省時倚主人勢威福太過故與爲惡戲。張亦哀求、老人解荷包出一腿、小若蝦蟆、呵氣、持呪、向張擲之、兩足如初。竟領賞去. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 5.



The character 福 repeated a hundred times.



The character 壽 repeated a hundred times.

thus shed still more light on the decorative art of China; but such work has already been satisfactorily and elaborately done by others [1].

The unlimited and many-sided power of spells and charms naturally implies an enormous use of those things, at present as well as in times gone by. In the first place this must be true in regard to those which serve for the expulsion of spectres; indeed, almost as long as man has had notions about these beings, he will have handled such plain weapons against them. We have seen on page 826 that the book of official institutions of the Cheu dynasty explicitly states, that the use of certain spells, styled k u n g 攻 and s h w o h 說, was prescribed to certain official expellers and destroyers of k u spectres.

In that same *Cheu li*, as also in the *Shu king* and the *Li ki*, a character 祝 c h u h occurs, with the meaning of invocation of spirits. Probably it signified at the same time the use of exorcising formulæ, these, as well as invocations, being modes of addressing spirits. In the literature of the Han dynasty appears a modified form of that character, in which the radical 口 "mouth" or 言 "to speak" takes the place of the radical 示 "religious objects and matters"; and this form, 呪 or 詶, pronounced c h e u (cf. p. 905), has remained to this day the common graphic sign for "spell", without, however, the older and classical form 祝 having fallen into disuse. Very often 呪 is written 咒.

In the Taoist religion, spells are often and preferably denoted by the term k ü e h 訣, "valedictory words". This character does not occur in the Classics. In the writings of Lieh-tszĕ it is used to denote the words by which a certain dying man transmitted to his son a magical formula; and for this reason Taoists, to whom Lieh-tszĕ is an author of authority, have named such formulæ "valedictory words". "A man in Wei", thus wrote that sage, "possessed a salutary "formula, which at his death in his valediction he communi- "cated to his son. The son committed the words to memory, but "as he lacked the capacity to apply them, he divulged them to "another who asked him about them. This man used them for the

1 Especially by Chavannes in the "Journal Asiatique" of 1901: "De l'Expression des Voeux dans l'Art populaire chinois".

"practice of magic with no less useful result than they had secured "for the father" [1].

As speech is older than writing, the use of spells must be older than the use of written charms. I do not believe that the Classics mention the latter. In the writings of Mencius, in the *Cheu li*, and in writings from the Han dynasty a character 符 fu occurs, composed of 竹 or bamboo, and "to hand or transfer", and having the meaning of a commission, patent, credential, bond or contract written on a tablet of bamboo or other material, which, broken or cut into two pieces which might be rejoined, could at any time attest by their perfectly fitting together the authenticity and genuineness of the document. It is that character which we find to this day denoting charms of any form on paper, linen, wood, metal, etc., written or engraved. They are also called fu-chang, fu-shu etc. (see page 905). Not so often, yet very frequently, written charms are called 籙 luh, showing the radical bamboo and "to inscribe or record". This character too appears in literature as early as the Han dynasty in the sense of script or drawing; but its signification of charm is evidently of posterior date.

To rigorous Confucian orthodoxy nothing is really holy unless mentioned or prescribed by the Classics, and the use of written charms therefore must, theoretically, appear open to condemnation. The official world in China indeed is often active against those who presume by these means to protect their fellow men from illness and other spectral evil, and it denounces and punishes them as swindlers and imposters: we may refer here to the instance mentioned on page 609. And nevertheless such magic flourishes in China above everything, even among the learned and educated.

It did so as early as the Han dynasty. Standard History of that epoch mentions a mysterious old man who was acquainted with Fei Ch'ang-fang and "made a charm for him, saying: 'dominate "herewith all spectres and spirits which exist on earth'. There- "upon Ch'ang-fang was able to cure all diseases, to flog and cane "spectres by hundreds, and to drive away and employ local earth- "spirits. Sometimes he was in his seat venting his anger quite alone, "and when asked for the reason, he said: 'I am passing sentence on

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[1] 衛人有善數者、臨死以訣喻其子。其子志其言、而不能行也、他人間之、以其父所言告之。間者用其言而行其術與其父無差焉. *Lieh-tszĕ*, ch. 8.

"kwei and mei which violate the laws". He unmasked a fox-spectre and a tortoise-spectre, as we have related on pp. 582 and 622; but "later on having lost the charm, he was killed by the host "of spectres" [1]. — "And in Honan there lived one Khüh Shing-khing, "an expert in charms in cinnabar writing, who therewith arraigned, "subdued and killed kwei and shen, and imposed his orders "upon them" [2].

In the description of the no processions celebrated in that same historical epoch, we have read (see page 976) that verbal spells, used on those occasions against spectres, formed a kind of chant implying intimidating threats and expressive commands to go away. Spells have been threats and commands to this day, and are indeed called chʿih 勅 or "orders", while the term chʿih kwei 勅鬼, "to command spectres", occurs in literature ever since the Han dynasty as a standard expression for exorcism. No other character occurs in written charms with more frequency. It is especially to be seen therein at the top (*e. g.* Fig. 11 on page 1043), and sometimes disguised under fantastic or cabalistic forms, even in the shape , representing the character 式, a homonym of it, which moreover means a rule, thus preventing spectres from behaving unruly. United with 勅 into a binomium, or replacing it, we often find in written charms the characters 令 ling or 命 ming, which equally mean "to command".

If the writings of Koh Hung are genuine, the use of written charms must have been thoroughly in vogue in the fourth century, when he lived. In the 17th section of his *Pao Pʿoh-tszĕ* he specially insists upon their being worn as amulets by people travelling in mountainous country, stating that they should be preferably written with red cinnabar paint (丹) on planks of peachwood, for reasons which we need not explain again; in this wise, says he, wayfarers may not only protect themselves against the spectres which haunt hills and forests in a great variety of shapes and manners, but

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[1] 爲作一符曰、以此主地上鬼神。遂能醫療衆病、鞭笞百鬼及驅使社公。或在他坐獨自恚怒、人間其故曰、吾責鬼魅之犯法者耳。。。後失其符爲衆鬼所殺. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 112 II, ll. 13 *seq.*

[2] 又河南有麴聖卿、善爲丹書符、効厭殺鬼神而使命之. *Ibid.* l. 17.

may also ward off wolves, tigers and stags, snakes and stinging insects. Similar excellent service, he adds, may be rendered against animals or animal-spectres by charms when affixed to doors, in corners, on pillars and beams, at important spots on the roadside, by pig-styes, etc. He distinguishes charms by a variety of names, thus showing that, as early as his time, there existed quite a nomenclature for them. He mentions, for instance, 鎮符, "charms to reduce to subjection", which is noteworthy, as to this day we see the character 鎮 so often inscribed in charms. He also mentions 天水符, "celestial water charms", always worn, says he, as amulets by Taoist doctors, probably on account of the circumstance that the best gift of Heaven to an agricultural people is the best preservative against drought, famine and other evils inflicted by powers of darkness. He furthermore speaks of 上皇竹使符, "bamboo commissions from the Supreme Emperor", that is to say from Heaven; indeed, the emperors of the Han dynasty on sundry occasions conferred on their subjects commissions inscribed on bamboo, which, according to Ying Shao, had the shape of five arrows carved with seal characters [1]. We thus learn that there existed in Koh Hung's time charms given to the world by gods, even the highest. Also Lao-tszĕ bestowed them, for Koh Hung describes the use of certain 太平符 or "charms of universal peace", received from that high prophet of Taoism, and moreover he writes, that the charms, which he so strongly recommends for mountaineers and their dwellings and for people who are travelling, had been given by that worthy.

The same section of his work contains drawings of nineteen charms which, unless they be spurious, probably are the oldest which exist. They might on this account deserve peculiar attention, but for the fact that hardly anything can be distinguished therein except unintelligible dots and lines straight and curved, reminding one of archaic Chinese writing, but more probably being conventional signs, such as at all times have been in vogue for the composition of Taoistic charms; we refer here *e. g.* to Fig. 2, as also to Fig. 3, a charm the main part of which is a spiral denoting the rolling of thunder from which issues a flash of lightning. Not a few conventional writing systems have been invented by leading Taoists and printed in their books. We may on this account readily consider charms to be arbitrary scrawls, even in spite of the Chinese

1 Historical Records, ch. 10, l. 10.

Fig. 2.

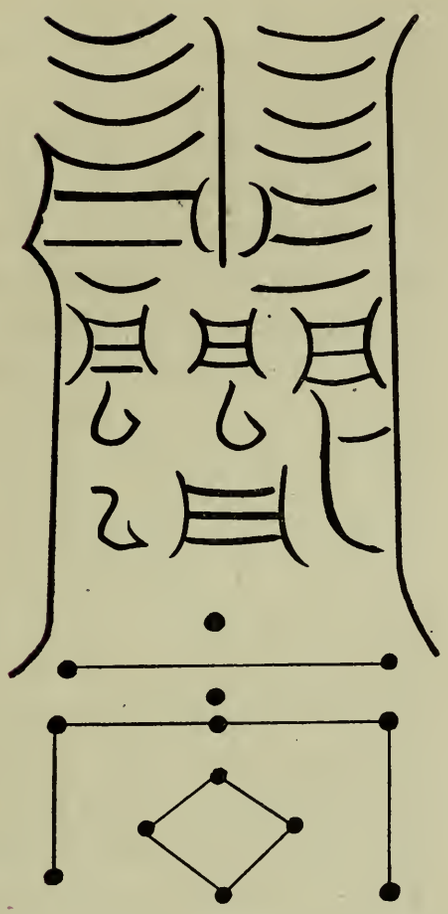
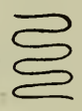
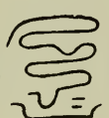


Fig. 3.

Charms of the fourth century of our era.

pretension that they represent writing of a higher order, having been made by godly men imbued with divine miraculous power (ling or shen ling). Here are a few specimens of conventional charm-characters, extracted from Taoist works:

is 鬼 k w e i, spectre.  is 雲, clouds.  is 雷, thunder.

is 去, to go away. is 來, to come. is 龍, dragon.

means 升, to rise into the air, as a dragon.

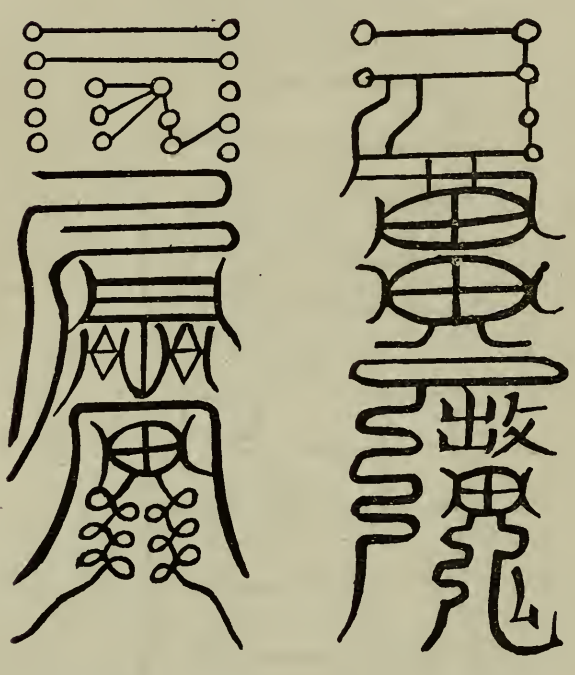
means 降, to descend.

denotes the five Elements.

Such magical writing bears, of course, rather pretentious names. such as 天書 "celestial writing", 雷篆 "thunder c h w e n writing" (see Bk I, pp. 1109 and 1220); etc.

Some of Koh Hung's charms contain black spots, either connected or not by straight lines, representing stars and constellations (*e. g.* Fig. 2). Such astronomical factors are very common in charms to this day (see Fig. 4 and Fig. 5), since celestial luminaries, being shen or gods of significance, are leading spectre-destroyers and dispensers of felicity. Thus at an early date, by means of charms, man employed his gods as allies and instruments in his struggle with the spectral world.

Fig. 4. Fig. 5.



Charms containing stars or constellations.

Tales, purporting to state what miraculous effects against spectres man in all ages has attained in China with spells and charms, have been written in great numbers, and show that they were especially handled by Taoists. We can, of course, only give our attention to a few specimens of those tales, and shall condense into general statements what the rest tell us.

"Under Shi Tsu of the Ts'i dynasty there was in the tenth year "of the Yung ming period (A.D. 492) in the house of the com- "moner Mao Ch'ung-khiu in the Tan-yang principality every night "a noise of human voices and laughter in the kitchen, and more- "over, when daylight broke or the lamp was burning, a noise like "a feast or dinner party. If they opened the door and looked into "the kitchen, they perceived nothing, but no sooner had they closed "the door than they heard the noise again. This had been going "on for several decades of days, when a Taoist doctor called upon "Ch'ung-khiu. 'Your house, sir, is haunted at night by spectres', "said he, 'is it not?' Receiving an affirmative answer, the Taoist "drew a charm out of his bosom and gave it him; 'nail this up "over the fire-place and against the northern wall, and see to-morrow "morning what has happened', said he, and vanished. Ch'ung-khiu "gladly used the charm in the way he was told, and looking into "the kitchen the next morning, he saw five or six big rats, two "feet in length, without hair and of a vermilion colour, lying quite

"dead at the northern wall. The visitations were herewith finished "for ever" [1].

Especially noteworthy and of great moment in Taoist religious magic is the conviction that charms and spells may produce thunder and lightning to smite spectres. It is expressed in the tale translated on page 276, which tells of a tree which contained a spectre, both destroyed by the same lightning flash called down by a spell carved in the bark. It is suggested also by the lines on page 916, telling of an exorcist who destroyed a spectre by means of lightning produced by a charm inscribed in the palm of his hand. We read that "one Li Yuen-chen, a native of Chu-ki (in Chehkiang province), "having studied Taoist magic, could dispel thunder and lightning. "In the Süen teh period (1426—1435) he travelled past the "village of Ta-pu, and spent the night in a farm. There was no "fire there, and yet red-hot gravel and stones hailed down from "the sky; but no sooner Yuen-tsin had written a charm and burned "it than a violent thunderbolt smote a fox" [2]. Here again we have the fox in its devilish character of incendiary (cf. p. 596).

To operate with such tremendous effect, the charm or spell must mention thunder or lightning. The fact is that 雷 and 電, which denote these phenomena, appear in written charms with obvious frequency, mostly in abridged or conventional shape. In the charm

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[1] 齊世祖永明十年丹陽郡民茅崇邱家夜夜廚中有人語笑、復明燈火有宴饌之聲。及開門視之卽無所見、及閉門卽依然聞。如此數旬、忽有一道士詣崇邱。問曰、君家夜有妖患乎。崇邱曰然、道士乃懷中取一符與之、謂崇邱曰、但釘於竈上及北壁、來日早視之、言訖遂失其道士。崇邱喜乃以符如其言、明日見廚中有五六大鼠、各長二尺、無毛而色如朱、盡死於北壁。乃竟絶. *Khiüng kwai luh* 窮怪錄, Examinator of strange Events; written in the sixth century or under the T'ang dynasty. My copy only contains three tales, but probably is a fragment; it bears no date or author's name.

[2] 酈元眞諸暨人學道術、能驅雷電。宣德間過大部鄉宿農家。其家無煙而火沙石從空中下、元眞書符焚之、卽有大雷震死一狐. *Cheh-kiang t'ung chi* 浙江通志, General Memoirs concerning Chehkiang; TS, sect. 神異, ch. 309.

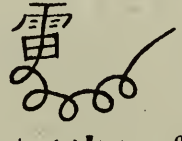
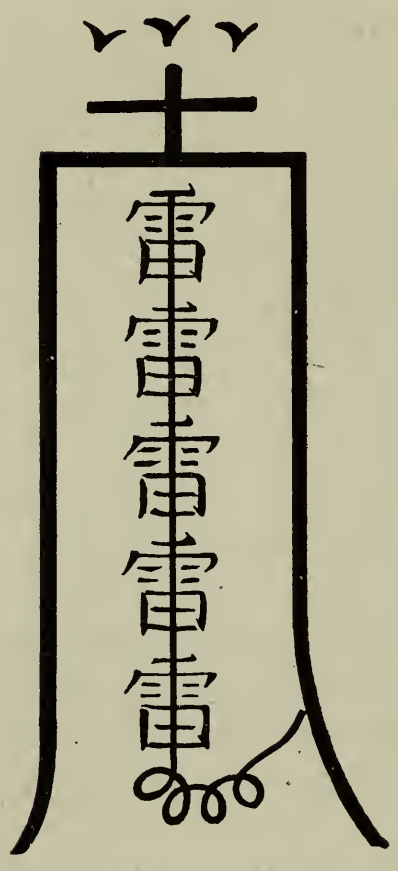
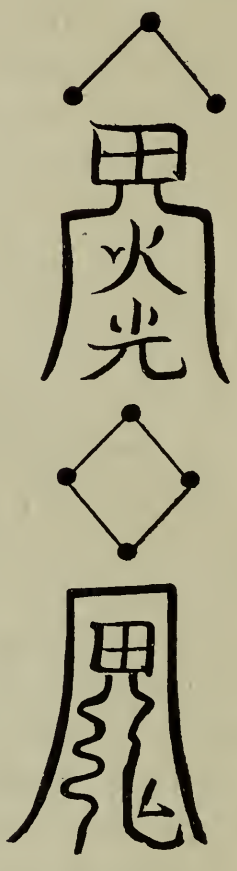
represented by Fig. 6 a fivefold accumulation of thunder sends out a spiral lightning flash. The characters 雷 and 電 contain the component 雨, rain, but as thunder and lightning without rainfall may smite spectres just as well, that component is very often omitted, so that 田 and 电 remain. We have seen on page 1025 that Shun-yü Chi in the fourth century of our era killed a rat by writing 田 in the hand of a man who was bitten by that beast. This character is a modification of a spiral line, which is the old hieroglyph for rolling thunder; hence it is that such a line also occurs in many charms (*e. g.* Fig. 3). In the sign 电, expressing lightning, the projecting stroke signifies the flash; therefore its effect as a charm is indefinitely increased by lengthening that stroke so that it looks like a spiral which at the same time represents the rolling of thunder, as *e. g.* and  . An increase of effect is also obtained by writing two flashes, as in Fig. 7, which apparently represents this rebus: fire (火) and light (光) of a double flash of lightning shooting from the stars and forcing spectres (鬼) to hide themselves.

Fig. 6.



Thunder and lightning charm.

Fig. 7.



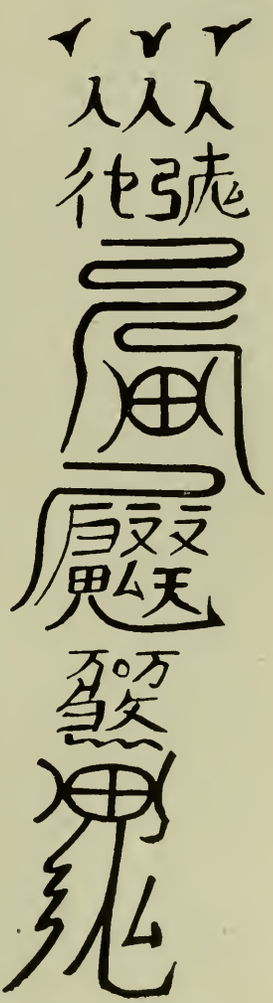
Exorcising lightning charm.

The use of thunder and lightning charms is especially an essential part of the magic of the Taoist religion. The exercise of influence upon Nature by means of thunder-gods, of whom a great variety have been invented, forms indeed one of the main parts of the ritualism of that religion, and is principally effected by means of such charms. We shall therefore hear of them again in our Book on Taoism.

The list of wonders wrought by spells and charms is, of course,

endless, as endless as the power ascribed to them. We have read (p. 193) that foxes which had assumed human forms in order to haunt men to their injury, have been reduced to their real shape, and thus rendered harmless, by magic words, and by mystic signs made by the fingers. Narratives about these and other animal-spectres, fought victoriously by means of spells and charms, are numerous. They teach us that, by merely exhibiting a charm or attaching it to something, the metamorphosis will infallibly be produced, so that the beast may be forthwith killed, or will run away if possessed of speed. Such charms, made and sold by experts, are used by people who believe demons to lodge in their sick relations, and, when placed on the beds or bodies of the patients, will produce, either immediately or after some time, a snake, lizard, rat or other beast, or even a fox, lying dead in or near the bed, or outside the house; and the patient, thus happily delivered, is at the same time cured. Some charms only produce such effects if set to work on the spectres by being burned.

Fig. 8.



Charm containing fragmentary characters.

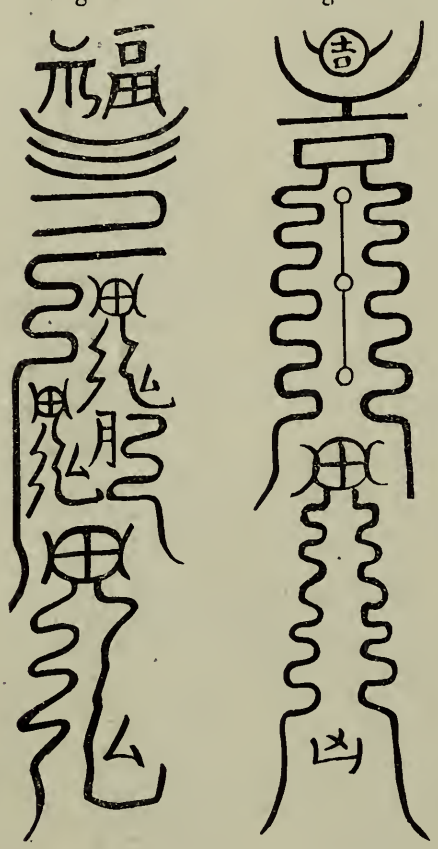
The reader will now be aware, that the principles of charm-writing are rather simple, and can only appear mysterious to those to whom Chinese writing itself is a mystery, in the first place therefore to nine tenths at least of the Chinese people itself. Nevertheless, even to Chinese who understand reading and writing, the ready interpretation of charms is as a rule difficult work, seeing that they may contain archaic writing, some knowledge of which is confined to a very few, or even conventional writing, which none but charm-writers by profession know, or also fragments of characters, or characters in abbreviated form, as in Fig. 8, or in current handwriting which is perplexing to many readers; not to mention arbitrary omissions, additions, or modifications of lines and strokes. As early as the time of Koh Hung it must have been the rule that charms were very illegible, for this sage explicitly mentions it as a matter of significance that the wonderful Kiai Siang, of whom we have heard on page 1028, "could read charm-writing as easily as common "writing, without any mistakes. A man who refused to believe it

"showed to Siang a variety of charms, taking away the explana-"tions; but he analyzed them all, one by one" [1].

Charms must present an indefinite variety of forms for the simple fact that the characters, which enter into their composition, are indefinite in number, and may be fantastically written and mutilated in an indefinite number of ways. In those intended for expulsion and destruction of spectres some special factors recur with conspicuous regularity, some of which we have already noted on page 1035, and a few of which remain to be mentioned here.

A bow 弓, the weapon especially feared by spectres and frequently drawn against them, is very often exhibited in charms by lines like these ⸗ ⸗, lengthened at liberty to multiply their effect. Characters ⸗ ⸗' denoting felicity and therefore producing it, likewise appear very often in exorcising charms, because they frustrate evil which spectres are prone to cause; so Figure 9 evidently shows us this rebus: happiness (福) by shooting down with bows from both sides the host of spectres represented by an archaic form of k w e i 鬼, thrice repeated. Likewise prominent in charm-writing stands 祥, which also denotes happiness, as also 壽 or longevity, 太平 or universal peace, and 吉 or felicity bestowed by spirits or gods. We see this last-named sign for instance in Fig. 10 on the top of another, beneath which stand bows and three stars, suppressing spectres and their 凶 h i u n g or pernicious influences (see p. 466); this charm thus means double felicity shooting spectral evil with the aid of stargods. As a rule the state of felicity expected from a charm is inscribed at the top. The evil to be destroyed may be expressed by the characters 凶 h i u n g, 邪 s i é, 祟 s u i and 災 t s a i (pp. 466—468), 禍 or misfortune, 非 or evil, etc.

Fig. 9. Fig. 10.



Charms producing happiness by destruction of spectres.

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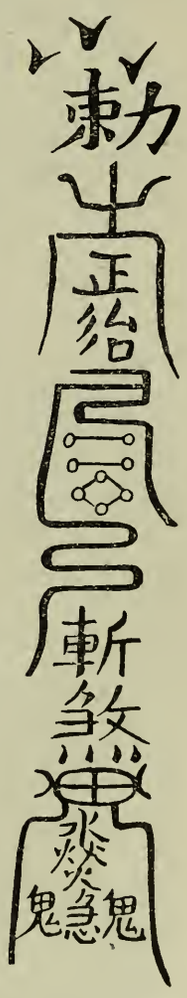
[1] 介象又能讀諸符文如讀書無誤謬者。或不信之取諸雜符除其注以示象、象皆一一別之.
Shen sien ch'wen, ch. 9.

We may, of course, expect to find often in exorcising charms characters belonging to the list of exorcising terms which we have given on pp. 939 *seq*. Very often the destruction of spectres is expressed emphatically by 殺 or 煞, s h a h, "to murder" (see p. 769), or by 斬, "to kill with a sword", or by both. In Fig. 11 we see these characters above the sign 鬼 or spectre, between the legs of which we read 水鬼 and 火鬼, "water and fire spectres", besides 火急, "as quick as fire", denoting that the destruction should be brought about with the velocity of lightning. In warfare against people who disturb the Tao or Universal Order by rising in rebellion, it is an established custom for the loyalists to send baskets, bags and barrels, filled with ears of the slain insurgents, as trophies to the Imperial throne. It is therefore quite reasonable that the character 馘, which has been employed to denote this practice since venerable classical antiquity, should appear in a great many charms, in order to intimidate the spectral enemies of Universal Order.

Fig. 11.



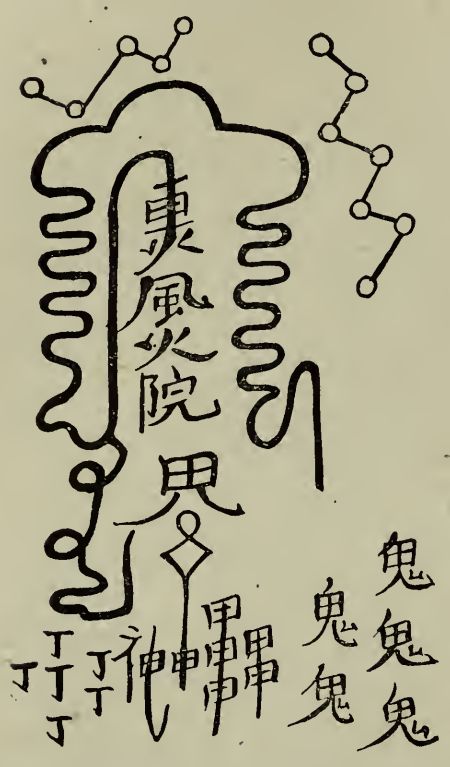
Charm by which spectres are ruled, beheaded and killed.

A very powerful character for charm-writing, and accordingly of frequent use, is 正 c h i n g, the famous term denoting the rectitude of the T a o or Order of Universe, before which whatever is s i é must necessarily recede or disappear (cf. p. 467). Very often it is followed by 治, "orderly", the charm thus imposing upon spectres a behaviour in accordance with that Order (see Fig. 11). Not less powerful and frequent in charms are 日, the sun, and 月, the moon, often combined into 明, light, three universal devil-destroying powers; besides, much use is made of 光, which also means light, and of 火, which means light and fire.

And for analogous universalistic reasons we find a very prominent position in charm-writing held by 丁 t i n g, that is to say, the character which, among the ten k a n, represents the south (Bk I, p. 966), and accordingly the devil-destroying element Fire. In the course of the Universe or of Time, which is represented by the sexagenary cycle formed by combination of these k a n with the twelve Branches (Bk I, p. 103), t i n g recurs six times performing its exorcising functions; hence it is that we often see it in charms six times repeated, or in the form 六丁, "the

six or sixfold ting". Similar is the part played in charms by 甲 kiah, the first of the kan, also often repeated six times, or with the character six placed before it; for it is assimilated with the east (cf. Bk I, p. 965), where the devil-destroying sun rises (see Fig. 12). Seeing that the two characters represent destruction of evil by the course of Time or of Universe, it is quite clear why they are preferably inscribed in charms which purport destruction of the unhealthiness or epidemics produced by the seasons.

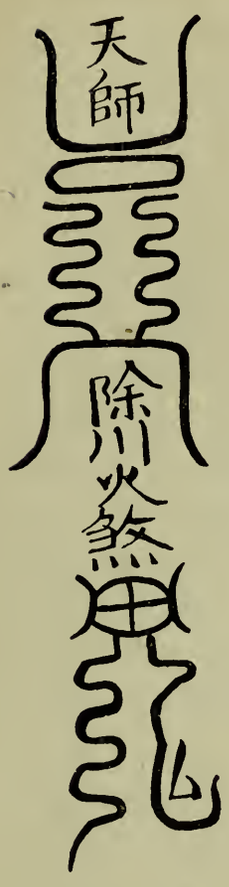
Fig. 12.



Charm which destroys spectres of illness.

Sun, moon, and stars are shen or gods, and so are the six ting and the six kiah, thunder and lightning, light and fire. They then are instances of divine power set to work by means of charms inscribed with its name. But as the whole Universe is filled with shen, hundreds of which are worshipped by man as his benefactors and protectors, it stands to reason that he may advantageously inscribe in his charms the names and titles of any of them. This has always been sagaciously done, especially by Taoist priests. Instead of such divine names and titles, rough drawings pretending to be portraits of gods have been used on a large scale, or even fragmentary portraits, nay single heads, arms or legs, the effect being similar, or occasionally admitted to be even stronger. By properly burning such divine charms while celebrating religious rites, demons are most successfully caught, fettered, and imprisoned, tortured, burned, roasted, killed and drowned. For such useful work, gods are especially chosen from among the commanders of the Celestial Army; but a charm-god of great power also is Chung-khwei, and furthermore Chang Tao-ling, the renowned founder of the Taoist Church in the second century of our era, whose important life and career we shall have to describe in our Book on Taoism. Often the title of the latter, viz. 天師 or Celestial Master, or his surname 張 Chang, is inscribed in charms (see Fig. 13); which is very practical, since the same are in this way imbued also with the power of his chief lineal descendant who lives in his ancestral seat in the Kwang-sin department in the province of Kiangsi, and likewise

Fig. 13.



Charm of Chang Tao-ling.

bears that title and surname. This man is the head of the Taoist magical Church and its demon-destroyer in chief, being the heir of the enormous exorcising power of Chang Tao-ling.

Sentences on small strips of paper, in ordinary writing ordering gods or deified men to station themselves on the spot and kill evil, may be daily and everywhere seen in China put up in places where defence against spectres is needed. Here are three specimens:

勅令李廣將軍箭在此 "It is ordered that general Li Kwang shall shoot his arrows here". This man was a hero of the second century before our era, who rendered himself famous by victorious campaigns against the Huns.

勅令九天玄女在此鎮煞 "This is an order to the Primordial Women of the Nine Heavens to suppress murderous influences".

封齊歲君到此 "Deified prince ruling the years (the planet Jupiter), take station here".

Charms may, however, harbour and exercise spiritual power though no names of gods appear therein, provided they contain the character 神 shen, or 靈 ling; indeed, both to men and spectres alike the name and nature of the god from whom proceeds the exorcising power may well be a matter of most perfect indifference. Exorcising power may be conferred also on charms by inscribing them with the character 囂 hiao or wao, which means vociferation by many mouths, for wherever human beings crowd together, their souls represent a considerable amount of shen or yang matter which intimidates spectres, particularly if that crowd enhances its dangerous aspect by unfriendly cries. The said character, frequent in charm-writing, is especially frightening to water-demons. According to Sui Yuen, "Chao I-kih said: 'Spectres "of persons who perished in water have a rancid smell of goats about "them, and those of people who died on shore smell like ashes of "paper. Whenever a man's olfactory nerves are affected by such odours, "he has better get away. River-spectres are extremely afraid of the "character 囂; hence when any one in a boat smells goatish odour, "he may escape injury by quickly writing that character" [1].

[1] 趙衣吉云、水死之鬼羊臊氣、岸死之鬼紙灰

Powerful also, and generally used for many ages, is the charm 斬 tsih, sometimes written 漸 tsʿien. The Khanghi Dictionary comments it in the following terms: "When a man dies, he becomes "a kwei which, when perceived by men, frightens them. And "when a kwei dies, it becomes a tsih which terrifies the kwei "which see it. If therefore this character in chwen writing is "pasted above a door, the effects of the work of all kwei which "exist are removed a thousand miles from the spot. People call it "the sié-removing charm" [1]. It is thus positively stated that spectres are mortal creatures. This idea is often worked out in books of fiction; I have even read therein of spectres celebrating Buddhist requiem masses for their deceased congeners. It certainly is not unnatural that a people, wont to invest spirits with human attributes, should admit also that they can die. It may be asked whether such a kwei in the second stage may die in its turn and become a kwei in the third; but I have not found this question discussed or solved.

It may then be taken for granted that spectres are not merely put to flight in the war which man wages against them, but may be actually killed. Certain also it seems that they are in terror of dying, seeing that they even fear the character tsih, which denotes their death. It might appear that the binomium 斬耳, which that character contains as principal component and which means "to cut off ears with a sabre", has any connexion with 馘, which also has that meaning, and (see p. 1043) is likewise very often used as a charm. But the Khanghi Dictionary, on the authority of the *Süen-shih chi* which was written in the ninth century, states, that tsih is a contraction of 漸耳, meaning "Tsien, assuredly". "This Tsien, whose "surname was Pʿei, lived in retirement in the sources of the I river "(in Honan). Li Kiün, a Taoist doctor, having said: 'among the "exorcists of our days there is none better than Tsien, assuredly',

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氣。凡人聞此二氣皆須避之。又云、河水鬼最畏囂字、如人在舟中聞羊臊氣則急寫一囂字可以遠害. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 9.

[1] 人死作鬼、人見懼之。鬼死作斬、鬼見怕之。若篆書此字貼於門上、一切鬼祟遠離千里。俗謂之辟邪符.

"the Court and the official world wrote the character tsih over "gates and doors" [1].

But Twan Ch'ing-shih in that same ninth century gave another explanation of this charm. "The people like to paint heads of "tigers above gates and doors, and to write there tsih characters "which denote spectres in the nether world, and thus an end is "made of malarious and febrile disease. In the *Han kiu i* or Old "Ritual of the Han dynasty (Bk I, p. 405) I have read about no "ceremonies by means of which spectres of pestilence were expelled, "and also that men of peachwood were put up, with ropes of reed "and with 滄耳 and tigers; tsih then is a contraction of these two "characters" [2]. This explanation may be plausible, but scarcely satisfactory, since we are not told what that binomium means. It may be the plant which botanical and medical works describe under the name 蒼耳, stating that is has been imported from western countries, but saying not a word about alleged exorcising functions.

Charms in plain ordinary writing, presenting little difficulties in deciphering, are pasted up everywhere in China and worn as amulets by tens of thousands in an endless variety. Almost always they are written on sheets of paper not larger than a hand, or even so small as a finger.

Charms are orders, mandates, injunctions. The most powerful mandates imaginable, obeyed by all men and spirits whom the celestial orb envelopes, are issued by the Son of Heaven, who is the lord of gods and men equally. It is then a proof of the sagacity of man, that to enhance the power of his charms he preferably writes them on paper of the imperial yellow colour. But he proceeds still further in this line of wisdom. At least since Koh Hung's time, as we have seen on page 1035, man has painted or written them with the carnation colour of cinnabar or tan 丹, this substance having always been used by emperors and their proxies or manda-

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[1] 裴漸隱居伊上。有道士李君曰、當今除鬼無過漸耳、時朝士皆書鄨于門上. I cannot find these lines in my own copy of the *Süen-shih chi.*

[2] 俗好於門上畫虎頭書鄨字、謂陰府鬼名、可息疫癘也。予讀漢舊儀說儺逐疫鬼、又立桃人葦索滄耳虎等。鄨爲合滄耳也 Supplementary *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 4.

rins to mark their decisions and dispositions as authentic. And even these official marks men are wont to insert in their charms in the form of ticks or dots, mostly at the top, either replacing or accompanying the characters 勅 and 令, "order" (see page 1041 Fig. 8, and p. 1043 Fig. 11). The acme of efficacy is reached if the charms are written with a genuine cinnabar pencil obtained from a mandarin's desk. These notions and customs are, of course, to be viewed also in the light of the fact, noted on page 1011, that the power of emperors and mandarins is eminently anti-spectral, since their rule means maintenance on this earth of the sway of the Tao, the supreme controller of spectres.

The effect of a charm, as well as that of any other decree or command, depends in particular on the power of him who has issued it. No wonder then that the Taoist world in China is so rich in charms imparted in times both early and recent by powerful gods. They are preferably traced to Hwang-ti and Lao-tszĕ, these worthies being greatest among the founders of the Tao among mankind. Koh Hung imparted some which had been obtained from the God of Heaven and from Lao-tszĕ (cf. page 1036). Many are reputed to come from Chang Tao-ling and Koh Hung; many were professedly issued by famous exorcists about whom history may speak or not. Very effective charms have been invented or written every day and hour by all sorts of men of higher order, sages and priests, whose shen or spirituality stood on a par of excellence with that of gods; indeed, such divine men or godmen (shen jen 神人), when they invented charms, naturally and spontaneously imparted to them the actual magical power or ling which was inherent in their shen. And shen or gods themselves by means of mediums scribble charms with branches and rods every day to this hour, in sand, bran, or ashes, as we shall describe in one of the chapters of Part V.

Written orders, even from the most powerful potentates, cannot in China claim obedience, in fact are mere white paper, unless they bear the impress of the seal of the authorities who issued them. Taoists are indeed wont to say, and to write in their books, that a charm without a seal is an army without a commander. The use of seals in charm-magic must be old, for we read explicitly that sealed house-charms were used under the Han dynasty: "In the month "of midsummer they placed at the gates and doors seals on peach-"wood, six inches in length and three in breadth, inscribed "in five colours with: 'let the law be obeyed'... People of the

"Cheu dynasty made keng of peachwood (cf. p. 957), denoting "that the Breaths (the Yang and Yin) alternate (keng); the Han "dynasty also used them, and made ornaments for gates and doors in "the shape of red cords and seals in five colours on the fifth day "of the fifth month, in order to frustrate baleful influences" [1].

And in Koh Hung's writings we find the following lines:

"The ancients whenever they entered the mountains wore a yueh-"chang seal of the Yellow God (Hwang-ti), four inches in breadth "and bearing 120 characters, with which they made impressions in the "clay, in consequence of which, wherever they halted, neither tigers nor "wolves ventured to approach on any side nearer than a hundred paces. "If while travelling they saw a fresh print and impressed the seal "there in the same direction in which the beast moved, they "made the tiger proceed, and if they did so in the reverse direction, "they made it return; therefore whoever had such a seal at "his belt might travel through mountains and forests without "any fear of tigers or wolves. But that seal kept off not only tigers "and wolves. Gods of mountains and rivers or in temples of the "earth, who received bloody sacrifices, and bad spirits, the authors "of happiness or unhappiness, if their road was obstructed by "means of such an impression in the clay, could manifest their "spiritual power (shen) no longer. In former days there was in the "Rocky River a large tortoise, which always abode in a deep abyss "which people called the abyss of the tortoise; this beast visited "men like a spectre, and spread disease among them. But a Taoist "doctor in Wu, named Tai Ping, who happened to witness this "fact, made some hundreds of yueh-chang impressions in clay, "went aboard a ship, and strewed that clay broadcast into the abyss; "on which after a while a huge tortoise rose to the surface, more than "ten feet in diameter; it did not venture to move, and when it "was slain, the sick all recovered. And at the same time small "tortoises appeared on the surface, to die successively in very great "number on the shore" [2].

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[1] 仲夏之月以桃印、長六寸、方三寸、五色書文如法、以施門戶。。。周人以桃爲更、言氣相更也、漢兼用之、故以五月五日朱索五色印爲門戶飾、以難止惡氣. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 15, l. 5.

[2] 古之人入山者皆佩黃神越章之印、其廣四

The seals used to this day by the priesthood of the Taoist religion are mostly engraved with 太上老君 "Supreme Lao-kiün", the honorary name of Lao-tszĕ; many bear the name or title of Chang Tao-ling (see p. 1044). There are, however, many other divine seals in use, each god to whom a temple is dedicated having there, like a terrestrial authority in his official mansion, a box with seals on his altar for the use of laymen and priests.

Charms are as a rule believed to be rather powerless unless written with new pencils, and with ink rubbed in water of exquisite purity. For some charms, however, even such precautions may be readily dispensed with. We read *e. g.* of "one Ku Yuen-pen, to whom a "singular person, whom he met, imparted charms and spells of the "five sorts of thunder, which he tried at home and found very "efficacious. At that time there prevailed in the Kia prefecture a "great drought. The prefect Sié ordered somebody to call Yuen-pen, "that he might pray for rain. He was at that moment eating dog's "flesh, and wrote out a charm with some of the gravy on a tile, "which he handed to the messenger to take home and deliver to "his master. The prefect furiously flung the tile downstairs, and "out of the noise it made as it was smashed a thunderclap burst "forth, and streams of rain came down.

"Ku Yuen-pin did not always use pencils to write his charms. "One day going to the privy, he drew with his hand this sentence: "'Divine General, as soon as you are here, you shall take away "my dirty toilet paper'. And no sooner did he rise from the privy

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寸、其字一百二十、以封泥著、所住之四方各百步則虎狼不敢近其內也。行見新跡、以印順印之虎卽去、以印逆印之虎卽還、帶此印以行山林亦不畏虎狼也。不但只辟虎狼。若有山川社廟血食惡神能作福禍者、以印封泥斷其道路、則不復能神矣。昔石頭水有大黿、常在一深潭中、人因名此潭爲黿潭、此物能作鬼魅行病於人。吳有道士戴晒者偶視之、以越章封泥作數百封、乘舟、以此封泥遍擲潭中、良久有大黿徑長丈餘浮出、不敢動、及格殺之而病者並愈也。又有小黿浮出、羅列死於渚上甚多. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, ch. 4, or sect. 17.

"than a thunderbolt smote him, burning up his charm at the "same time" [1].

It is also highly desirable that, while charms are being written, their power should be increased by pronouncing vigorous spells over them. One of the best to this end is the following: "Heart "of Heaven, eyes of Heaven, ears of Heaven, core of Heaven's "light, defeat the spiritually powerful light of the earth [2]; sun and "moon, produce your light; quick, quick, let the law and the "command of the Five Emperors be obeyed" [3]. This formula should be pronounced seven times, and subsequently its power instilled still more deeply into the charm by blowing on the latter. Charm-writers, while doing their work, may also vigorously concentrate their attention upon some mighty deity, preferably upon a god of thunder, and thus, together with their own intelligence or soul, instil the ling of that god into their charms.

The aforesaid expression "let the law be obeyed", appeared in former ages at the end of decrees as an usual formula. To this day, preceded by "quick, quick," it is used in spells and charms on an extensive scale, especially by Taoists. We have seen on page 1048 that this was the case also under the Han dynasty.

We may, of course, expect to find, that charms and spells are used in China on a large scale as exorcising prophylactics and medicines. They are to this end worn as amulets, folded in the pocket or in a satchel at the girdle, hidden in the hair or cap, and placed in or beside sickbeds, or in any spot whatever. Exorcists by profession, doctors and laymen cure patients suffering from possession by inscribing exorcising characters, such as 正 ching, 火 or fire, 刀 or sword, on their breasts or hearts, but also on the palms of their

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[1] 顧元本遇異人、授以五雷符訣、歸試甚驗。嘉邑大旱。謝令召祈雨。元本方食犬肉、以汁書符於瓦、授役令歸報。尹怒擲瓦階下、雷從碎聲出、大雨如注。

所書符不皆用筆。一日登厠以手虛書、神將已至、令取拭穢紙。及起雷擊死、其書亦焚, *Su-cheu-fu chi*; T S, sect. 神異, ch. 288.

2 This seems to mean so much as: "Yang, defeat the Yin!"

[3] 天心天目天耳天光之心克地之靈光、日月爲光、急急如律令五帝勅.

hands or other parts of their bodies; it is best to do this with cinnabar ink, and with a pencil of a mandarin. In Amoy, sufferers from fever or other demoniacal diseases eat cakes of flour on which schoolmasters or other men of letters have written exorcising characters; their effect is peculiarly salutary if one half is eaten and the other half thrown away.

A still more effective medicine for such patients is water in which a charm has been steeped or boiled, or which is mixed with ashes of a burnt charm. This solution of magical power thoroughly pervades the patient who drinks it, thus necessarily destroying the disease-demon in each part of his body. Such fu shui[1] or "charm-water" is universally used, side by side with cheu shui[2] or "spell-water" which is water over which spells have been pronounced. Wu, physicians, Taoist and Buddhist priests derive a considerable part of their income from the fabrication of these two sorts. Such water is also sprinkled on beds of patients and through their rooms, preferably with a small twig of peach or willow, these trees being feared by spectres. Experts also pronounce or cry out spells directly over sufferers, to the same salutary effect.

Such are the principal ways in which vain or successful attempts at performing magical exorcising cures with charms and spells are made in China every day by hundreds. The method may be as old as the use of charms and spells itself. In the Books of the Later Han Dynasty we read that Chang Fei[3], a prominent figure in a great religious movement from which Taoism arose as a Church, obtained countless disciples and partisans "by curing the sick with charm-water and spells"[4]. In the medical work of Koh Hung a prescription for patients who have swooned from nightmare is given, viz. to burn a paper charm containing six times the character "spectre", thus:

鬼鬼
鬼鬼
鬼鬼

— the ashes are to be mixed with water, and the water poured into the mouth of the sufferer, while at the same time a mirror is to be held before his ears and tapped, and his name called; he then revives in half a day[5]. Fancy six demons burned at a time to mere ashes! could anything be more appalling to even the boldest spectral beings?

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1 符水. 2 咒水.

3 張飛.

4 符水呪說以療病. Ch. 101, l. 1.

5 *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. I, § 5.

Also under the T'ang dynasty this curative method was in vogue. There then lived, according to the *Kwang i ki*, a woman who dreamt that a godman gave her two written charms with a spell for curing a sufferer from obstinate fever. Without loss of time she pronounced the spell while holding the charms in her hands, and the patient was forthwith better. We can hardly doubt that this spell has done long and excellent service among fever-quacks and priests; it is not consigned to oblivion even now any more than the tradition about its divine origin. "Intractable fever", it runs, "intractable fever, the gods of the four mountains send me "hither to fetter you. The envoys of the six ting (see p. 1043) and "the generals of the five roads [1] will take away your vital breath "and catch your souls. Hurry off, hurry off, lest you meet with "those persons. Quick, quick, let the law be obeyed" [2]. Great numbers of such spells might be collected from writings of all times, but such a task would not repay the trouble. A few only may be given here as examples.

One is mentioned in the *Lang hüen ki*, dating from the Yuen dynasty. This work relates a story of a man who was troubled by fever and under medical treatment and incantation for a very long time without being cured. Then a Taoist appeared, who placed a jujube date on his lips, and three times recited the following spell: "I came from the east and found a pond on the road; "in its water lived a venerable dragon with nine heads and eighteen "tails. I asked what it fed on; it ate nothing but fever-demons. "Supreme and holy Lao-kiün, quick, let the laws and orders be "obeyed!" [3]. The patient then swallowed the date, and was immediately better, while the Taoist vanished unbidden.

Here is a rhyming spell or charm, likewise calculated to utterly rout or pulverize spectres:

"In Universe kindly and vast, limitless, boundless, death departeth, "life cometh; what prevaileth in place of this law? Of a surety,

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1 See Book I, page 72.

2 勃瘧勃瘧、四山之神使我來縛。六丁使者五道將軍、收汝精氣攝汝神魂、速去速去、免逢此人。急急如律令. KK, ch. 278.

3 我從東方來、路逢一池水、水內一尊龍、九頭十八尾。問他喫甚麼、專喫瘧疾鬼。太上老眞君、急如律令勅.

"if those that are desired to fly immediately fly, can then anything "else than comfort and ease prevail?" [1]

Not less powerful is the following specimen:

"You are what I shall be after my death; I am what you have "been before you died; if you do me no hurt, I will not "afflict you". [2]

Celebrated, however, beyond anything of the kind is the poetic febrifuge which the ever renowned scholar and statesman Han Yü composed; indeed, the ling or magical power of this poem must be enormous, seeing that its author was a powerful mandarin, and, besides, one of the loftiest intellects which China has produced:

"Correct in behaviour, o Emperor of the Waters [3], is thy soul,
"But broken down art thou, naught remaineth of thy glory,
"For why doth thy son, utterly unlike to thyself,
"Still as demon of fever spread abroad terrors? [4]

"Autumn he handleth, that he may produce thereby fever;
"The aged sires and dames therefore rail upon him;
"The sufferer asketh for food, but it is vomited forth or floweth out,
"Yet naught recketh thy son of the stench and the foulness. [5]

"Poisons in numbers do the masters of medicine apply,
"Perfumes, essences in endless ways,
"Masters of cauterisation apply wicks of mugwort,
"Cruel as hunters who ring the game with fire. [6]

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[1] 好大世界無遮無礙、死去生來有何替代、要走便走豈不爽快.

[2] 汝是已死我、我是未死汝、汝若不我祟、我亦不汝苦.

3 Chwen-süh, whose son, dying at his birth, settled in rivers and became the demon of fever; see page 499.

[4] 屑屑水帝魂、謝謝無餘輝、如何不肖子、尚奮瘧鬼威.

[5] 乘秋作寒熱、翁嫗所罵譏、求食嘔洩間、不知臭穢非.

[6] 醫師加百毒、薰灌無停機、炙師施艾炷、酷若獵火圍.

"Masters of spells (w u), their lips and teeth charged with venom,
"Jet forth flying lightning-flashes with their tongues,
"Masters of charms, brandishing sword and pencil,
"Scrawl their scripts with ink of cinnabar. [1]

"Thus they hunt thy offspring from their dwelling;
"Doth this bring honour to thy family-home? [2]

"Thy forefather Hien-yuen (Hwang-ti), and they sire Chwen-süh
"Never besmirched its ancient fame and honour,
"But not as they did dost thou:
"Baseness and meanness such as thine are rare. [3]

"Dost thou not shame thus they forefathers?
"For this cause art thou ashamed to return to thy father's home?
"Clear and limpid is the deep deep river,
"Depart thou, there abide and tend they spouse. [4]

"Clothed be thou by those limpid waves,
"Be the barren rocks thy portals and dominions,
"There in the bright moonlight draw thy breath,
"There bear in thy hands ensigns of water lilies. [5]

„Thither sink down, the obedient servant of all the nine songs [6],
"There quaff flavours and eat fragrant herbs;
"Thus in kind terms do I admonish thee,
"Calling to thee: begone! be not stiff-necked!" [7]

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[1] 詛師毒口牙、舌作霹靂飛、符師弄刀筆、丹墨交橫揮.

[2] 咨汝之胄出、門戶何巍巍.

[3] 祖軒而炎頊、未沫於前徽、不修其操行、賤薄似汝稀.

[4] 豈不忝厥祖、靦然不知歸、湛湛江水清、歸居安汝妃.

[5] 清波爲裳衣、白石爲門畿、呼吸明月光、手掉芙蓉旂.

6 Composed by Khuh Yuen 屈原, a disgraced minister in the fourth century B.C., for the purpose of bidding gods and spirits to come and go.

[7] 降集隨九歌、飲芳而食菲、贈汝以好辭、咄汝去莫違.

This vivid picture of a sickbed more than eleven centuries ago, surrounded by exorcists and specialists of both sexes, clamorously scolding and abusing the devil, cauterizing, operating with swords, charms and pencils, is not without interest; and the more so because at present things are done beside sickbeds in much the same curious way. And spells must have been highly appreciated in those days, seeing that a scholar and statesman of the highest order lent his talents and pen to their composition. It is therefore no longer surprising to read in standard history of the T'ang dynasty [1], among the rules laid down for the organisation of the High Medical College [2] at Court, that this contained four classes of Masters, attached to its two High Medical Chiefs [3] and their substitutes [4], to wit: Masters of Medicine [5]; of Acupuncture [6]; of Manipulation [7], that is to say, moderation and regulation of respiration [8], and two Masters for frustration by means of spells [9]. For assistants they had two "workers with such spells" [10], and eighteen disciples.

Charms, though applied to the sick in various ways and manners, may often remain totally inefficient. To remedy this failure, their influence should be engrafted on the patients more deeply and firmly, and this is done by tattooing or incising them on their skin. We know of this practice through the Code of Laws. This contains the following notice in the title which treats of heresy and its promulgators: "Yang Wen-siang, having observed that the treatment of "patients according to Kiang Ta-tsioh's book on charms had good "results, studied that book in order to try the matter, and learned "from it the magic of charms incised with a knife. He took a "knife, painted a charm, and ordered Chang Khin to incise it on "him; but the said man thereby wounded Yang Wen-siang's belly "so seriously that he died. Thereupon Chang Khin, in accordance "with the penal law of unintentional homicide, was condemned "to strangulation. And in accordance with the law touching seditious "felons who teach black magic such as enables a man to avoid "corportal punishments, Kiang Ta-tsioh, as chief instructor, was "condemmed to strangulation with a decrease of one degree of "punishment, that is to say, to the severest degree of banishment

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1 Old Books, ch. 44, l. 15.

2 太醫署. 3 太醫令. 4 丞. 5 醫師.

6 針師. 7 按摩師. 8 消息導引之法.

9 咒禁師. 10 咒禁工.

"for life. This sentence was passed in Hupeh in the twelfth year "of the Khien lung period (1747)" [1].

Exorcising charms are much worn as amulets by pregnant women for the protection of their wombs against spectres, especially while attending funeral rites. And when a woman is labouring in slow childbirth, the spectral influences which are the cause of it are expelled from her body by giving her charm- or spell-water to drink. But apart from their use as amulets and medicines, written charms are employed in China in delivering houses and premises from the dangerous presence of spectres. Inn-keepers post them on beds and walls, in order to prevent visitors and strangers from falling sick and dying in their houses. We must, of course, class among such house-charms the names and portraits of Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei, the painted tiger's heads, cocks etc. which are treated of in Chs. IV and V. To this day, charms are affixed to doors or houses on various occasions, but especially during epidemics, and in different seasons, because in each of these there are special spectres which render it dangerous.

The use of charms for protection of houses is an integral part of the Fung-shui system. It pertains, indeed, to the functions of the professors of this occult science to discover whether buildings are exposed to spectres because they stand beyond the beneficent normal (ching) influences of the Universe, and, this evil stated, to suppress it by proper charms, put up in suitable spots. It is the rule that these learned men themselves supply the charms. These are written or painted preferably on thin planks, which, theoretically, represent peachwood. Books afford abundance of specimens; a great many are known by simple tradition, or are the fruits of the professor's own ingenuity. They are also used at the erection or repair of buildings, and especially if the times are not propitious for such undertakings, so that spectres, those of the soil in particular (cf. pp. 536 *sqq.*), are active, and therefore should be pacified. Should any one become ill

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[1] 楊文相因見姜大爵符書治病效驗、取書開看試驗、見有刀割符術。因取刀、畫符、强令張瑾向已試割、致傷楊文相肚腹殞命。張瑾照戲殺律擬絞。姜大爵比照奸匪之徒將各種避刑邪術私自傳習、爲首教授之人絞例減一等滿流。乾隆十二年湖北案. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, ch. 16, the sixth title.

during the operations, or a woman in the family way be seized with pangs, a charm forthwith should appear in a proper spot. A set of twelve is specially in vogue, each invariably for the same year in every cycle of twelve. Experts in charms possess and sell another set of twelve, to be posted up at the twelve points of the compass before the operations begin, after which precaution all murderous spectres whatsoever may be disturbed or offended without the slightest danger. There is also a set of eight charms for the eight cardinal points, and one set of five, respectively for the north, south, east, west, and the centre.

The Chinese are solicitous not to underrate the good effects of such building-charms. Properly posted up beside houses in construction as long as the works last, those mystic figures implant therein felicity for ever by preventing spectres from coming near and sowing evil which might bear bitter fruit as long as the building stands. The exorcising efficacy of those charms is due to the fact that they represent the Tao, which is the supreme destroyer of sié; indeed, they are inscribed with the cyclical characters which, as we know (Bk I, pp. 965 *seq*), denote the points of the compass or components of the Universe, as well as the divisions of time, which are the course of the Universe. Their efficiency is increased by inscribing in them the characters shen and ling, which represent the divine power of those elements. Especially powerful is the set of five, because they represent the authority of the deified rulers of the five parts of the Universe, who, moreover, were the most ancient of sovereigns who introduced the universal Tao among men, thus imparting social order, law, and civilisation. The names of those rulers are Fuh-hi, Shen-nung, Hwang-ti, Shao-hao (Book I, page 934), and Chwen-süh (*supra*, page 1054); they are also called the Black, the Blue, the Yellow, the White, and the Red Emperor respectively, because the cardinal points correspond with these five colours. These charms, written on yellow or imperial paper, bear the T'ai Kih surrounded by the eight kwa, which is, as we know (p. 1011), a representation of the Universe and its Order; and under this mighty figure stands the impression, in red cinnabar ink, of the seal of the corresponding emperor, thus: 黑帝寶 "seal of the Black Emperor", 青帝寶 "seal of the Blue Emperor", etc. Moreover, in black ink, to the right and left of the seal, are inscribed large cyclical characters, denoting the cardinal point to which the charm belongs, with the name of the corresponding animal (Bk I, p. 317). Thus the spiritual energy itself of the five chief gods of the Tao

is present on the site where the charms are exhibited, so that it is not surprising that, when they are put up, a Taoist priest, or even a Buddhist, is directed to offer a sacrifice to propitiate them.

It is now quite clear why papers in five colours are deemed to be exorcising charms, and are used as such on a large scale. Many centuries ago, multicoloured things were worn on the body about midsummer, which, being the acme of heat, is also that of the increase of disease. "On the fifth day of the fifth month", states the Calendar of the King and Ch'u region, "silk stuffs and silk "threads in five colours are bound to the pulse; they are called "averters of weapons, and are the means by which people avoid "disease or plague. And people present each other with bands "woven of (life-)prolonging silk, and with various other things. "In the middle of summer the moths evacuate their silk-"cocoons, and the women dye and boil the silk, so that they are "busily engaged. They embroider suns, moons, stars, birds, and "quadrupeds, stitching these with gold thread, and offering them "to the superiors of their families, under the name of life-lengthening "threads, or tissue which averts the danger of weapons, or five-"coloured threads, or red cords, and I think that there are a great "many other names. The blue, red, white and black colours are "deemed to represent the four cardinal points, and the yellow "colours the centre of the Universe" [1].

Where belief in spectres has no bounds, and therefore the use of charms flourishes and gives rise to a profitable trade, there occasionally, in order to prevent this trade from languishing, alarming tales about dangerous spectres will be circulated. We have instanced this phenomenon on pp. 488, 609 and 998, showing that vendors of charms received no gentle treatment at the hands of the people and mandarins. Among such terrifying spectres of fancy we may undoubtedly rank certain 三殺凶神 or "three murderous nefarious spirits", as also so-called 六煞 or "six deadly

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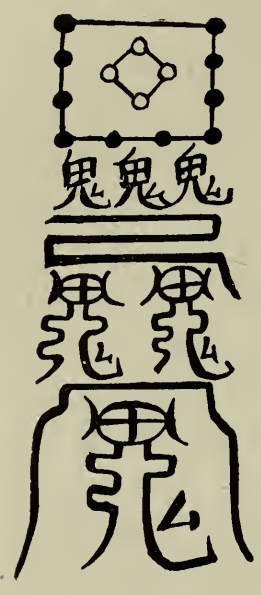
[1] 五月五日以五綵絲繫臂、名曰辟兵、令人不病瘟。又有條達等織組雜物以相贈遺。按仲夏蘭始出、婦人染練、咸有作務。日月星辰鳥獸之狀文繡金縷、貢獻所尊、一名長命縷、一名續命鏤、一名辟兵繒、一名五色絲、名擬甚多。青赤白黑以爲四方、黃爲中央. *King Ch'u sui-shi ki.*

influences", and 四凶 or "four evils", which man at any time is apt unwittingly to offend and irritate, especially by digging, and building or repairing houses, and thereupon take their revenge by rendering the inmates of his dwelling ill, or by wounding or harming them.

Fig. 14.

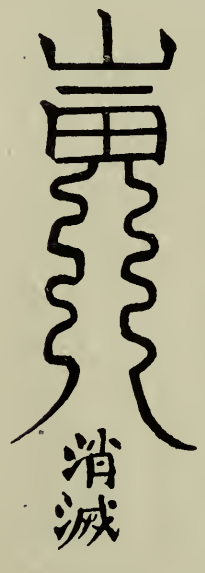


Charm to annul bad dreams.

Whenever these beings are engaged in their dangerous revenge, soothsayers have to put up their charms, varying according to the year, in the spot where the offence took place. It is advisable in such cases to wash one's self with a decoction of artemisia, which plant (see p. 1079) has the power of dispelling spirits. Instead of fixing these charms visibly on the house, they may be buried in the ground, probably to set them in operation against earth-spectres.

Recourse is had to exorcising charms when dogs often bark for no apparent reason, thus proving that there are spectres abroad. They are affixed to doors and windows which betray by obstinate creaking the presence of spectres, as also to styes, pens and stables, when, owing to spectres, swine, cattle and fowls die or frequently run away. They are used to annul the consequences of sorcery and bad dreams, which are generally deemed to be the work of spectres (Fig. 14). It is curious to learn, that discord between parents and sons, husbands and wives, brothers etc. can be remedied by wearing devil-expelling amulets; indeed, discord between natural relations is anti-natural, contrary to the Tao, that is to say, not ching, but sié, the work of spectres. And after having protected himself with charms to the end of his life, the good son of China after his death carries them with him for his protection in the nether world. Fig. 15, a specimen destined to be burned by his careful relations in his grave, shows the phrase 山鬼消滅 "dissolution and destruction of mountain-spectres". We may mention in conclusion that also thousands of universal charms, for the purpose of averting every possible sort of mischief at any given time, are everywhere and every day made and sold.

Fig. 15.



Charm for protectiou in the grave.

The mighty influence of Buddhism has considerably affected the use of charms and spells in China. Importing its own system or

Yoga, which had its Dhâraṇi or words and formulæ for removing Mara and their evil and insuring good to mankind, it naturally caused the number and variety of charms and spells to increase greatly. It modified their contents by the introduction of new factors, such as the name of Buddha, 佛 Fuh, who is the Light of the World and therefore the universal expeller of demons; further the terms om 奄, and hum 吽 or ahum 唵吽, which are the first and the last word of the magic phrase Om mani padme hum. In general, the Dhâraṇi in China have the position which they held of old in the Buddhist Church, that is to say, they are spells by which, besides religious sanctity, felicity of all living beings is insured and promoted, so that their purpose is not essentially different from that of the spells in the Taoist system. We shall say more of them in our Book on Buddhism.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WAR AGAINST ANIMAL-DEMONS.

Our treatise on Animal-demons in Volume V has mentioned a great variety of expedients which the Chinese have used at all times to render harmless those dangerous beings, which have always played so great a part in their life and thought. A short recapitulation thereof will not be out of place, and may at the same time afford an opportunity for supplying some more information on the subject.

If a man acts as a demon in the guise of a wolf or tiger, there is nothing so suitable for laying him for ever as throttling or otherwise killing him as soon as he has re-assumed his human shape (pp. 564 and 565). Or he may be delivered to the mandarins and be starved in prison, or attacked and killed by armed crowds (page 548). A were-tiger loses its dangerous character if, as soon as it returns to the human shape, men rob it of the tiger's skin which it wanted for its metamorphosis (pp. 551 and 552; also page 179). Such a monster may, of course, be successfully killed also when in its animal shape (page 546); or it may then be unmasked by wounding it, since the wound will show itself on the corresponding part of its human body (pp. 548 and 564). Conversely, were-animals, if wounded while appearing under human disguise, may be recognized from wounds on the corresponding limbs of their animal body, and then be easily killed (pp. 602 and 614). In general, a good number of blows etc. will suffice to despatch dog-demons in human form, foxes, monkeys or rats which indulge in intercourse with women (pp. 574, 587, 604 *seq.*). Cicadas which change themselves for the same shameless purpose into young gallants, may be reduced to their insect shape by well-directed arrowshots (page 649); and authors prove by their writings that she-monkeys, sows and cranes in the shape of beautiful women who aim at bewitching the other sex, have been successfully killed (p. 604), boiled (page 620), or driven away by blows with sticks (p. 644). Likewise, fishes which haunt men as anthropomorphous devils have

been restored to their piscine forms and killed outright by means of arrows, and this expedient even enjoys the high privilege of having been recommended by Confucius (p. 645). Under his own eyes and with his complete approval, a disciple of his belaboured a snake-devil, in spite of its great physical strength (page 628). A stick, properly brandished, suffices to reduce butterflies in human disguise to their genuine shape, and to put them to flight (page 648), and sword-strokes may unmask and kill anthropomorphous old cocks (page 636). Ruffian rats who infest the roads in the guise of gangs of highwaymen, may merely by the application of a mirror be dispersed in a panic and subsequently slain (page 607); and such beasts may under all circumstances be beaten to death, or be destroyed in their holes by means of hot water (page 606).

Tortoises which, in human guise, disturb the guards of the imperial palace, may be driven with sword-strokes into a pond, the pond be drained, and the beasts killed (page 623). Another recipe is, to compel such devils to return to their watery home and die there by order of powerful exorcists (page 623). And when a tortoise lies hidden in the ground and pulls down nuns who pass overhead, and spoils the digestion of all around, and stiffens their tongues — then let the beast be dug out by bold warriors, and thrown into the water (page 624).

Even when unarmed, people may by mere exertion of physical strength kill anthropomorphous spectres, causing them to change into foxes at the moment of expiring (page 595). Foxes in human shape, which have, by the vilest imposture imaginable, seduced sons into parricide, may by the mere presence of a Buddhist priest be compelled to re-assume their real shape, and thereupon be killed (p. 598). The identity of such monsters may also be established by rather enigmatic expedients. "Under the T'ang dynasty there "lived two women of the Yang tribe, married to two husbands of "the Hu family [1]. The younger of these husbands was the darling "of his mother-in-law; therefore the other said to a female slave: 'He "is a wild fox; mother does not like me, but is fond of the fox'. "The slave betrayed this to her; on which she asked: 'How can "we find out whether it is true?' — 'Take a magpie's head', said "the slave, 'and hang it above the door; then, when the younger "man comes, tell his wife to exclaim 'he asks for cooked meat'; "he is sure to run away as soon as she has uttered those words

1 Always under suspicion of being foxes: see page 195.

"twice or thrice'. The woman Yang cried out the words, and "indeed her husband took to his heels. Hence there is to this day "a tradition abroad among the people, according to which the words "'he asks for cooked meat' ward off fox-demonry very efficiently" [1].

And when foxes commit the enormity of assuming the form and voice of saints or buddhas, in order to divert to themselves the worship and sacrifices due by humanity to those holy ones, even venturing for the purpose within the precincts of the imperial palace, then they have been reduced to their animal shape and put to flight by clergymen who raised shrewd suspicions of their identity, or confounded them by means of checkmating questions (pp. 590—592). Bucks, guilty of similar sacrilege, have betrayed themselves while under the influence of the sacrificial spirits, and have thereupon been killed outright (pp. 618 *seq.*); and dogs who assumed the disguise of dead men for the same gastronomical purpose, have, likewise when drunk, incurred the same well-deserved fate (p. 574). But also by external use alcohol may work as a mighty defensive against beast-spectres. It is, in fact, a tradition of very old standing that "the emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, while on a journey "to the east and not yet beyond the Han-kuh pass, came upon "a being who obstructed the road. It was some chang in length, "and had the shape of an elephant or ox with blue eyes and "gleaming eye-balls; its four feet were sunk into the ground, and "yet they moved without the being itself shifting from its place. The "officers stood aghast; but Tung Fang-shoh (see p. 306) reverently "proposed to pour out spirituous liquor over it; and when some "dozen pints had thus been spilled, the beast dwindled away. "The emperor asked him to explain the matter. 'This beast', he "answered, 'is called Sorrow-maker; sadness is produced by it, and "we may be sure that here is a spot where under the Ts'in "dynasty a prison stood, or that it was an abode of criminals or

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[1] 唐有楊氏者二女、并嫁胡家。小胡郎爲丈母所惜、大胡郎謂其卑曰、小胡郎乃野狐爾、丈母乃不惜我、反惜野狐。婢還白母、問何以知之。答云、宜取鵲頭懸戶上、小胡郎若來、令妻呼伊祈熟肉、再三言之必當走也。楊氏如言、小胡郎果走。故今人相傳云、伊祈熟肉辟狐魅甚有驗也.
Kwang i ki; quoted in the K K, ch. 450.

"deported workmen. Spirituous liquors dispel sorrow; hence it is "that they have caused that being to dwindle away" [1].

We have seen how a dog, which impertinently assumed the shape of his absent master in order to indulge in sexual intercourse with his wife, was turned into its true shape by means of blood, and could as a consequence be killed (p. 573). Cows which were able to make use of their undecayed carcasses which had been buried in the ground, and thus to play pranks as ghosts, have been defeated by the simple unearthing and destruction of those carcasses (p. 622). And crows, while acting as avengers of souls of murdered men, have been stopped in their terrible work by means of sacrifices presented to those wronged souls (page 640). The long list thus finally leads to the conclusion, that the war against the wide class of animal-devils may always be waged victoriously, provided the proper weapons be used with sufficient display of courage, intelligence, and presence of mind.

More particularly, literature in China teaches men the ways and methods by which their forefathers at all times used to deal with animal-demons which caused possession, illness, and derangement of mind — the most dangerous that exist. Foxes stand at the head of this class. They have always been killed in large numbers in old graves and city-moats, along with lizards and other demons of disease (page 577). They have been blown out of patients by able exorcists, and while making their escape through the window, caught in bags (pp. 577 *seq.*). Patients possessed by foxes have been beaten with peach branches (page 579), and the beasts, on making their appearance, belaboured with edged weapons, or they were caught, killed, or fried in oil (page 580). And if they assumed the shape of physicians under pretence of curing the very patients whom they had afflicted, they have been set to biting each other beside the sickbed out of sheer jealousy, until total exhaustion threw them back into their animal state, so that they could be killed conveniently and

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[1] 漢武帝東遊、未出函谷關、有物當道。身長數丈、其狀象牛、青眼而曜睛、四足入土、動而不徙。百官驚駭、東方朔乃請以酒灌之、灌之數十斛而物消。帝問其故。答曰、此名爲患、憂氣之所生也、此必是秦之獄地、不然則罪人徒作之所聚。夫酒忘憂、故能消之也. *Shou shen ki*, ch. 11.

the patient cured thereby (pp. 584 *seq.*). Vulpine demonry may be averted by the burning of magpie's nests, perhaps for the same inexplicable reason that heads of those birds, if placed above doors, unmask were-foxes (see page 1063); we read, indeed, in Twan Ch'ing-shih's writings, "that in the third year of the Ching "yuen period (A. D. 787) magpies built nests of earth in the "Sterculia trees of the Imperial Council of State[1], and that vulpine "demonry could be averted by burning such nests"[2].

It is easier to understand why fox-disease may be cured by the swallowing of ashes of a burned fox, either with or without water. Such homœopathic medicine can, in fact, have none but a most salutary effect, since every vulpine soul or influence lodging in a patient must feel highly uncomfortable and alarmed on coming in that abode upon something which, rudely and cruelly, reminds it of the horrid death which is kept in store for it. "Wang Yen "had married a woman of the Ts'ui tribe. In the T'ien pao "period (A. D. 742—756) of the T'ang dynasty his father-in-law "Shi-t'ung became Governor of Mien-cheu, and Yen accompanied "him to Kiang-hia, where he was bewitched by a fox, and refused "to be ferried across the Yangtszĕ river. In a fit of mental derangement "he cried aloud, and continually tried to jump into the stream, so "that his wife's kinsmen in great consternation tied him to the rest "which supported the sail. When the ship was midway, he burst into "merry laughter, and on reaching the shore he said, in a state of "great elation: 'People of my father-in-law, I told you I would "not cross the river with you, but what more shall I have to suffer "now on the walls of the city?

"No sooner had Shi-t'ung entered on his functions there than "he sought for a magician; and his attendants having directed "his attention to an able fox-shooter among the city-people, he "called this man to his mansion. The magician directed that beds "with sleeping-mats should be placed in the hall, and that Yen "should lie there in the corner to the north-west, while watch in "turns should be kept by some dozens of the inmates. For himself "a couch was placed outside the hall, and he lay on it with his "bow and arrows, watching for the fox.

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1 This ornithological incident is recorded also in the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 34, l. 15.

2 貞元三年中書省梧桐樹上有鵲以泥爲巢、焚其巢可禳狐魅. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 16.

"In the third watch of the night he suddenly exclaimed: 'You "have eaten and are now sleeping, is it not so? I have just hit "the fox; pick it up to-morrow'; but they all thought that he talked "nonsense, and they did not believe a word of it. But next morning "they discovered some blood by the window; they followed the "bloody track, and were thus led into a large ravine, where they "found a dying vixen under the shrubs, with an arrow in its body. "Yen's wife burned the monster to ashes, and no sooner had he "swallowed these to the last than he was better" [1].

Disease caused by toads may likewise manifest itself by nervous insanity, and be cured by catching and destroying the beast (p. 633). It has also been demonstrated experimentally that the soul of a snake, which after being killed plagues a child of its murderer with disease, may be exorcised by restoring the lacerated and dried remains to life (p. 630). Male gavials have been ejected from virgin princesses by Buddhist priests merely by means of their divinity sustained by threats, and beaten to death while running for their lives (p. 626). And during the prevalence of disease, exorcists have drawn circles on the ground, and driven into these "prisons" foxes, lizards, and tortoises (p. 578). The feats of such wizards are really astounding. "In the time of the reign of Kao Tsu, in the "Yung ch'u period (A. D. 420—423), when Chang Ch'un was pre- "fect in Wu-ch'ang, a certain man was giving his daughter in marriage,

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[1] 王黯者結婚崔氏。唐天寶中妻父士同爲沔州刺史、黯隨至江夏、爲狐所媚、不欲渡江。發狂大叫、恒欲赴水、妻屬惶懼縛黯著牀櫪上。舟行半江、忽爾欣笑、至岸大喜曰、本謂諸女郎輩不隨過江、今在州城上復何慮也。

士同蒞官便求術士、左右言州人能射狐者、士同延至入。令堂中悉施牀席、賓黯於屋西北陬、家人數十恃更迭守。已於堂外別施一牀、持弓矢以候狐。

至三夕忽云、諸人得飽睡已否、適已中狐、明當取之、衆以爲狂而未之信。及明見窓中有血、衆隨血去、入大坑中、草下見一牝狐帶箭垂死。黯妻燒狐爲灰、服之至盡自爾得平復. *Kwang i ki*, quoted in KK, ch. 451.

"but when it was time for her to step into the bridal chair, she "failed to appear, having run out of the door, dealing blows on "all sides, and exclaiming that she did not want to marry a com- "mon man. A wu declared that a demon had bewitched her. He "took her to the confluence of the rivers, and there amid the sound "of his drums treated her with magic and spells; and Chang "Ch'un, who thought that it was all imposture practised upon the "people, fixed a term within which he was to catch the devil.

"On the next day a blue snake approached the wu, who forth- "with thrust a big nail through its head. Then about noontime a "huge tortoise emerged from the river, and crouched down before "the wu; with red cinnabar ink he wrote a charm on its carapace "and sent it back into the water. And while the sun was setting, "a large white gavial showed itself in the river, alternately diving "and floating, and behind it the tortoise to push it forward. The "gavial took its leave of the maid, who complained with emotion "that its matrimonial affections were going to be lost to her; but "thereupon she became better.

"The wu was then asked how it was that, though the demonry "was the work of one beast only, he had caught three. The answer "was, that the snake had been the messenger between the two "parties, the tortoise the match-maker, and the gavial the husband. "The three beasts were shown to Chang Ch'un, who, thus expe- "riencing for the first time in his life the actuality of spiritual "power (ling), had all the beasts killed".[1]

[1] 高祖永初中張春爲武昌太守時、人有嫁女、未及升車女忽然失所在、出外毆擊人、乃自云已不樂嫁俗人。巫云是邪魅。將女至江際、遂擊鼓以術呪療、春以爲欺惑百姓、刻期須得妖魅。

翼日有一青蛇來到巫所、卽以大釘釘其頭。至日中時復見大龜從江來、伏於巫前、巫以朱書龜背作符、更遣入江。至暮有大白鼉從江中出、乍沉乍浮、龜隨後催逼。鼉與女辭訣、女遂慟哭云失其姻好、於是漸差。

或問巫曰、魅者歸于一物、今安得有三。巫云、蛇是傳通、龜是媒人、鼉是其對。所獲三物悉以示春、春始知靈驗、皆殺之. *I yuen;* quoted in T S, sect. 禽蟲, chs. 183 and 132, and in sect. 神異, ch. 317.

Animal-demons may also be expelled from patients by acupuncture. "In the eighteenth year of the Yuen kia period (A. D. 441) "a man in the district of Hia-shi in Kwang-ling, named Chang "Fang, and his daughter Tao-hiang had conducted their son-in-law "and husband for some distance on a journey to the north, and "passed the night in the porch of a temple. That night, an "animal in the shape of the son-in-law came to the woman "and said: 'Separated from your love, I find it is so hard to see "you go home; I cannot possibly leave you just now'; — and "Tao-hiang suddenly was benumbed and confused, and no longer "behaved in her accustomed manner. At that time, Tswan, the "king of Hai-ling, could cure demonry. As her father supposed that "she was under possession, he requested the said grandee to cure "her, and no sooner had the latter thrust the first needle into her "than an otter ran away from under the coverlets, right into the "harbour in front. And Tao-hiang forthwith was as well as ever"[1].

Mirrors are powerful exorcising instruments, which may always cure patients by expelling or killing the animal-demons by which they are possessed (pp. 1000 *sqq*). Virulent pustules, caused by bites of devilish and revengeful fish, readily disappear when these animals are restored to liberty and holy books are recited by Buddhist priests (p. 647). And if fishes cause harm to men from their watery element, they ought to be checked by means of magical charms, or should be worshipped and invoked, and brought to terms by means of sacrifices (page 646).

In an ode of the *Shi king*[2] occurs the character 癙, composed of 鼠 or rat, and the radical 疒 which denotes illness. It seems to mean despondency or melancholy, as it stands in that ode in connection with the character 憂, which has that meaning; but some scholars, among whom we find Chu Hi, declare it to mean hidden like a rat in its hole, unknown by men. These scholars may be

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[1] 元嘉十八年廣陵下市縣人張方女道香送其夫壻北行、日暮宿祠門下。夜有一物假作其壻來云、離情難遣、不能便去、道香俄昏惑失常。時有海陵王纂者能療邪。疑道香被魅、請治之、始下一針有一獺從女被內走入前港。道香病便愈. *I yuen*; T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 79.

2 Sect. 祈父, ode 8.

right or wrong, yet a fact it is that certain complaints or mental aberrations combined with dejection are to this day identified by pathologists with a mysterious disease ascribed to rats or their spirits. As early as the second century before our era, Liu Ngan wrote that "the head of a fox (or wild cat) is a cure for (complaints "caused by) rats, and the head of a cock causes the running of "wounds or abscesses to cease" [1]; hence, considering the Chinese rules of parallelism in composition, complaints caused by rats may have meant in his time wounds or abscesses. This explains why Li Shi-chen wrote this notice: "Time was when every one consi- "dered ulcerous scabs to be caused by the poison of saliva of rats; "hence it is that the philosopher of Hwai-nan (*i. e.* Liu Ngan) "stated that heads of foxes cure rat-disease and ulcers inflicted "on men by the bites of rats" [2]. It is natural to surmise that the statement of Liu Ngan was based on the observation that foxes and wild cats are diligent destroyers of rats; but we might ask whether rats, glad to see their destroyer beheaded, would not rather fall upon men with renewed eagerness, the evil thus being increased by the cure. Be this as it may, the fact is that the saying of the ancient sage plays a part in Chinese therapy to this day, as we shall see on page 1072.

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1 狸[貍]頭愈鼠、雞頭已瘻. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 16.

2 昔人皆以癆子爲鼠涎毒所致、此乃淮南子所謂狸頭治瘋及鼠嚙人瘡. *Pen-ts^{c}ao kang muh*, ch. 51, I.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXORCISING THERAPEUTICS AND MEDICAL CHARMS.

The preceding chapters have taught us implicitly in many ways that the practices of medicine and exorcism hardly exist separately in China, but are exercised conjointly, in particular in cases of illness which pathology explicitly brands as demoniacal. We have, indeed, read about therapeutic exorcism by means of fire (pp. 946 *sqq.*), ashes (page 952), and fire-flies (p. 951); of exorcising medicines made of mirrors (page 1004), charms and spells (pp. 1051 *sqq.*), or obtained from peach trees (pp. 958, 961), tigers (p. 963), and cocks (pp. 967 *sqq.*). We have also learned, that the healing virtue of those ingredients consists in the main in their animation by the Yang, that is to say, in the fact that they contain parts of the Universal Shen or Divinity, which also constitute the power or ling of gods who in the Universal Order stand diametrically opposed to the kwei or yin beings. Logically and necessarily then, the yang or shen medicines, obtained from the vegetable, the animal, and the mineral kingdoms, to which we have devoted many of our pages (294—332; 357—406), are also applied by China's medico-philosophical world because of their exorcising virtue. All such medicines contain a double curative quality, for they also possess the faculty of increasing and strengthening the patient's soul or shen, his vital spirits or tsing-shen, thus prolonging his life. This happy coincidence raises their supreme excellence to the rank of an axiom, and they indeed stand conspicuous in the countless recipes which China's medical literature affords for diseases of all kinds. They also are much worn on the body in small satchels, or preserved or suspended in houses and rooms as charms.

But they are far from representing all that grows in the field of China's exorcising therapeutics. Animistic thought and belief have planted therein very much more, so that our limited knowledge can

offer in this chapter no more than a few desultory gleanings from the books in which medical men have stored up what they and their ancestors have harvested in that field.

These books teach emphatically that no exorcism which is practised on the sick can be efficient, unless internal medicines are at the same time taken by them. Indeed, as we have stated on page 683, spectres or sié can lodge in no other bodies than those of which the ching khi or normal natural influences are in a waning or weakened state; and therefore, when the sié are being expelled from such a body by exorcism, its ching khi must be simultaneously restored to plenitude and soundness by means of medicines which are particularly shen or ling. Or, according to some, while the medicines compel sié to withdraw (退) or crowd them out, their retreat must be hastened by exorcisms. This doctrine naturally awards the palm of excellence to medicines composed of things which spectres fear.

Hence it is that, in days of yore, Liu Ngan declared (see p. 1070) diseases caused by rats or rat-demons curable by means of heads of foxes or wild cats. Developing his dictum, sanctified by its antiquity, China's leading medical authors declare everything obtained from foxes to have a salutary effect upon demoniacal diseases, as well as upon pustules or abscesses, professedly produced by rats. Su Sung wrote in the eleventh century: "Make soup of a fox "which has not been disembowelled, and eat it, and it will cure "sores and scabs which for a long time have proved incurable [1]. "And when anyone suddenly expires by (demoniacal) violence, "then forthwith take the gall of a male fox, grate it in some tepid "water, and pour this into the throat of the patient; he will then "revive, but if the current hour has elapsed, the cure will not "succeed" [2].

And Meng Shen [3] wrote, "that flesh of a fox should be boiled "or roasted and eaten as a tonic by sufferers from consumption and

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1 同腸作臛食、治瘡疥久不瘥. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 51, II, l. 1.

2 人卒暴亡、卽取雄狐膽、溫水研、灌入喉、卽活、移時者無及矣. *Ibid.*, l. 2.

3 孟詵, a high literary graduate and mandarin who lived from 621 to 713. He is known as an author on Rites and of some medical books. See the biographical notes in the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 191, l. 14, and in the New Books, ch. 196, l. 6.

"sié influences which dwell in the five viscera, and that it should be "eaten many times by sufferers from ku poison and fever.... Broth "or soup of it cures women who see spectres" [1]. And according to the *Ming i pieh luh* of T'ao Hung-king, it must be applied against "ku poison, fevers, and infantile convulsions" [2]. Ta Ming states, "that it strengthens sufferers from consumption and heals virulent "sores and scabs, and that, when eaten raw, it is a cure for vul- "pine possession or demonry.... The tail, if burned to ashes, expels "evil, and ashes of the head and the tail may cure cattle-plague, "to which end water mixed therewith must be poured over the "sick animals" [3]. Li Shi-chen states, "that the head of a fox, when "burned, expels sié, and, reduced to ashes, is to be applied to "swellings and scabs, together with the head of a wild cat (or "fox?).... The snout of a fox, together with that of an ounce, must "be cooked and eaten by sufferers from vulpine demonry.... Fox- "skin too puts a stop to demonicial possession" [4].

These extracts are far from sketching in its entirety the use of the fox as a medico-exorcising animal. Mixtures and balls containing some part of its liver, gall or calcined bowels, are recommended for internal use against demoniacal and malarious fevers, plagues, "strokes of evil", and sundry other complaints; and so are even its droppings, but those of a vixen should never be used. Such mixtures and balls also work very efficiently if worn as amulets. It is positively determined in which months of the year foxes, to be good for medical application, ought to be killed, or in which months the excrements must have been voided.

The same high therapeutical position is awarded to the rat-destroying domestic cat, and the statements of authorities in regard of its medical use are of no other character and tenor. Therefore we pass over those statements in silence, except the following lines from the writings of Li Shi-chen: "Bone of a cat's head heals

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[1] 狐肉煮炙食、補虛損及五臟邪氣、患蠱毒寒熱者宜多食之...作羹臛治夫人見鬼. *Ibid.*, ll. 1 and 2.

[2] 蠱毒、寒熱、小兒驚癇. *Ibid.*, l. 2.

[3] 補虛勞、治惡瘡疥、生食治狐魅...尾燒灰辟惡、頭尾燒灰治牛疫、和水灌之. *Ibid.*, ll. 2 and 3.

[4] 狐頭燒之辟邪、同貍頭燒灰傅瘰癧...狐鼻狐魅病同豹鼻煮食...狐皮辟邪魅. *Ibid.*, l. 3.

"demoniacal malady, k u poison, and pains in the heart and belly; "it kills insects, and cures atrophy and small-pox, black swellings "and scabs, plague-abscesses, and malignant sores" [1]. In Fuhkien a great number of domestic cats are regularly victimized on account of such quackery. For many an ailment, declared by the physician to be rat-disease, and for obdurate scrofula, boils, and even leprosy, this man selects a cat, preferably from a litter of kittens, paying careful attention to the colour. The animal is strangled, and without being opened or disembowelled it is boiled, hair, skin, and all, in a pan till it is quite soft, and this stinking soup having been passed through a sieve to remove the hair, is drunk by the patient, or used to wash him. The same kitten may be boiled down more than once, and is finally given to some beggar as food.

For the expulsion of tortoise-spectres from the belly, internal use of urine of white horses is prescribed in watery potions, for, as we have related on page 624, a devil of this kind many centuries ago manifested a great aversion from such urine. If snakes, including so-called celestial snakes (see pp. 630 *sqq.*), are the causes of boils, ulcers, scabs or other skin-complaints, it is useful to treat these with smoke of a burning centipede, because (cf. p. 863) centipedes are notorious destroyers of snakes. Ointments of hogs' lard, mixed with some powder of centipedes, may be used to the same end, or a little oil in which a centipede has lain for a number of days. Since a great number of complaints are ascribed to poison emanating from animalculæ represented as frogs, scorpions, spectres, hairy dwarfs, and other strange shapes [2], or to reptiles and insects used in k u sorcery, the long list of antidotes of the Chinese is in the main a list of spectre-expelling medicines.

Since weapons in general, and arrows and lances in particular, are exorcising objects, virtue against demoniacal malady is positively ascribed to a curious plant, called w e i - m e u [3], "guard's halberd or lance", or s h e n - t s i e n [4], "arrow of the gods", or k w e i - t s i e n [5], "spectre-arrow", on account of its pointed, thorn-like twigs, and certain appendages which stand out on the bark somewhat like

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1 貓頭骨主治鬼疰蠱毒心腹痛、殺虫、治疳及瘄疹、變黑瘰癧瘟瘵惡瘡. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 51 I, l. 53.

2 See *e. g.* the instructive tenth chapter of the *Kih kiu sien fang* 急救仙方, "Recipes of the Immortals which afford quick relief", a medical work in eleven chapters, inserted in the great Taoist Canon under the 372th. character 惻.

3 衛矛. 4 神箭. 5 鬼箭.

feathers on an arrow, or on account of the leaves, the position of which suggests halberd-blades. Curative power reposes in those feathers in particular. They are converted into drugs, and when mixed with various ingredients, are taken to cure fever and other demoniacal complaints, especially by women in childbed on whom devilish influence is so prone to light. The wood of the plant works salutarily in cases of insanity, and people sometimes burn it in their houses to smoke out demonry.

Bamboo roots which have been for some time rotting under the ground, pass under the name of kwei-chʿi [1], "spectre-teeth", or kwei-chen [2], "spectre-pins", and are the terror of robbers and thieves; but spectres also fear them. Chʿen Tsang-khi prescribes decoctions of those roots for internal use by patients "struck by evil" or labouring under convulsions, or feeling pains in the heart and belly. Against such demonish attacks and complaints, as also against difficult childbirth, the same author recommends wood of old privies, to be burned under the bed, so that the heat and the smoke may work on the patient [3].

In a work professedly written in the fourth century of our era, we read as follows about a tree, evidently exotic:

"Chʿing Ya asked about the name 'Sorrowless', given to the "shih-lu tree. Anciently there was a wu, named Pao (or Shih)-"mao, who possessed divine power (shen), so that he could punish "all spectres by means of charms. Whenever he caught spectres, "he made a club of that tree and beat them to death. The people "of that time communicated this fact to posterity, which has ever "since acknowledged that such wood is an object of terror to the "demon-world, so that people vie with each other to obtain it, in "order to make things wherewith to expel spectres and suppress "demonry. It is accordingly called wu-hwan or Sorrowless" [4].

The same story was recorded by Twan Chʿing-shih with the following addition: "When wood of the Sorrowless is burned, the "smell is extremely fragrant and expels bad odours (or influences

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1 鬼齒. 2 鬼鍼.

3 *Pen-tsʿao kang muh*, ch. 37, l. 26.

4 程雅問拾櫨木、一名無患者。昔有神巫、名曰寶[實]眊、能符劾百鬼。得鬼則以此爲棒殺之。世人相傳、以此木爲衆鬼所畏、競取爲器用以却厭邪鬼。故號曰無患也. Tsʿui Pao's *Ku kin chu*; section II.

"of evil, cf. page 1081). It is also named kin-leu and hwan"[1]. This note suggests, that the tree owes its exorcising virtue to the odoriferousness of its wood. It is said to attain stately proportions in high mountains. Another name is muh-hwan[2], owing perhaps to an erroneous understanding of the word wu-hwan, and it is also called hwan[3]. A popular name is kwei kien tsʿeu[4], "the sorrow suffered by spectres". Amulets are made of the wood, and the fruits are used by Buddhists for rosary beads, especially those which have a red devil-expelling colour.

From ancient times it was customary in China to swallow special exorcising medicines at special moments of the year, or to use them then as charms, or to wear them as amulets. New Year's day in particular was assigned for such usages, because, as we know, it is the great moment in Chinese life for devil-expelling work. We have seen for instance (p. 957) that soup of peaches was drunk on that day by people of every age; but much more was done, for we have in the old calendar of annual customs in King and Chʿu the following statements:

"On the first day of the first month old and young people "swallow spectre-expelling pills, and every one consumes a fowl's "egg.... Liu Tszĕ-khing of Kiang-hia (*i. e.* Wu-chʿang, in Hupeh) "visited the bazaar on New Year's day, and saw that a student "who entered it was evaded by all the spectres. 'By what magic "do you effect this?' he asked the man. And the answer was: "'I possessed no magic at all until the day when, as I went out, "my tutor put a medicine-ball into a red satchel, and told me to "tie this to my pulse as a preventive against influences of evil'. "Liu borrowed the medicine from the said student, and from that "moment, whenever he came to a place where spectres were visible, "they ran away one and all. This is the reason why it is in general "use among the people. In the preparation of it 'male yellow' (see "page 328) from Wu-tu should enter, and two ounces of powdered "cinnabar with sufficient wax to make a ball, which on New Year's "morning male persons ought to wear on the left side, and women "on the right.

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[1] 無患木燒之極香、辟惡氣。一名噤婁、一名桓. Supplementary *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 10.

[2] 木患.

[3] 槵, evidently a contraction of 木患.

[4] 鬼見愁.

"And Cheu Ch'u's Description of Local Manners says, that when "the first morning of the year dawns, people swallow a fowl's egg, "saying that they thereby refine their bodies. 'Teeth-cementers' in "this wise cause the teeth to stand firmly and immovably. At "present the northerners observe the same custom, roast hemp-seeds "and big peas, and pulverize them with sugar. The Book on Im- "provement by Refinement says, that by swallowing a fowl's egg "and seven red peas in the morning of New Year's day people "remove pestilence. And the *Cheu heu pi kih fang* has this rescript: "Swallow fourteen hemp-seeds and fourteen small peas from the "first day to the seventh, in order to dispel disease and plague. "And Chang Chung, also named King-fang, says, that the year has "bad influences which may strike man, and may kill him imme- "diately if he is so unfortunate as to be hit; in such cases, "fourteen big peas, a fowl's egg, and white hempseeds must be "swallowed with some spirits" [1].

The reasons why the ingredients, mentioned in this extract, should protect from evil, escape us, except for the eggs, which (cf. p. 361) do so because they contain a concentration of the shen or vitality of the fowls that laid them, as also the productive power of a cock, the notorious yang bird which, since early times, has been

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[1] 正月一日長幼服却鬼丸、各進一鷄子。。。江夏劉次卿以正旦至市、見一書生入市、衆鬼悉避。劉問書生曰、子有何術以至於此。書生言、我本無術、出之日家師以一藥丸絳囊裹之、令以繫臂、防惡氣耳。於是劉就書生借此藥、至所見鬼處諸鬼悉走。所以世俗行之。其方用武都雄黃丹散二兩蠟和、令調如彈丸、正月旦令男左女右帶之。

周處風土記曰、正旦當生吞雞子一枚、謂之練形。膠牙者蓋以使其牢固不動。今北人亦如之、熬麻子大豆兼糖散之。案練化篇云、正月旦吞雞子赤豆七枚、辟瘟氣。又肘後方云、旦及七日吞麻子小豆各二七枚、消疾疫。張仲景方云、歲有惡氣、中人不幸便死、取大豆二七枚、雞子、白麻子、酒吞之. *King Ch'u sui-shi ki.*

one of the principal exorcising agencies for New Year's day. But it seems extravagant to expect a philosophical background to lie behind every substance to which the Chinese ascribe healing power. In fact every assertion of a sage in quackery, whether based on some successful cure or not, especially if perchance it has been published in a book, suffices to give any product of the mineral, vegetable or animal kingdom a place in their Pharmacopœa.

The sweetflag or Acorus, known to our readers as a plant imbued with the vitality which the sun effuses upon this earth (p. 321), on account of this quality frightens spectres, and consequently expels diseases and epidemics. It is stated categorically in medical works, that, if used internally, it removes spectral influences through the bowels [1]. As an exorcising substance for external use it comes to the foreground at the summer solstice. Owing to the lunar division of the year, that solstice does not, as with us, invariably coincide in China with a fixed date in the calendar. Nevertheless it is regularly celebrated on the fifth day of the fifth month, which date therefore bears the name of twan wu[2], "the strict wu or south" (cf. Bk I, p. 965), denoting the sun in its annual highest position in the south; it is also called twan yang[3], "the strict Yang", because this universal principle of light and warmth then prevails supremely. Now as disease and mortality increase during that acme of heat, the theoretical midsummer day is particularly devoted to exorcism. On this date the people in Amoy decorate their doors and windows with some sweetflag, to which they add some leek and mugwort; or they place these plants on the roofs, averring that their strong scent will avert from the house spectres and their works or influences. But apart from its smell, the sweetflag possesses exorcising virtue because, as we have noted on page 321, its name ch'ang represents the sunlight; moreover, its leaves are shaped like daggers or swords, which spectres fear so much.

Not unfrequently, the sweetflag, leek and mugwort are bound up together into the shape of a tiger, or that of a doll which is deemed to represent Chang Ling, the Taoist patriarch of exorcism. Sometimes such dolls are made of loam or clay, and have a beard of mugwort, and a head and fists which consist of leek or garlic bulbs. Books show, that such usages have prevailed for centuries in various parts of the empire. On that same midsummer festival, many persons of either sex and every age in Amoy wipe their

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1 下鬼氣. 2 端午. 3 端陽.

bodies with towels dipped in decoctions of those herbs. Such exorcising washings may be very old, for there is a passage in the *Cheu li*, running thus: "The female w u are directed to perform "at fixed moments of the year exorcising practices, as also ablu- "tions with aromatic matters" [1].

It is also customary in Amoy to wear some n g a i [2] or mugwort in miniature satchels, or bound up in the shape of a tiger, or to stick that plant in the headgear, for, as people are wont to say, *ts^{c}ah hiāng ōe tn̂g miāng; ts^{c}ah hiāng ōe khin kiān* [3], "by implanting "mugwort, life may be prolonged and agility with a strong constitu- "tion acquired". It may be added that the fifth day of the fifth month is also specially designated for taking prophylactics, of which medical books recommend a great many, and, in particular, spirits in which sweetflag is steeped. Medicines and drugs, derived from the vegetable kingdom, are especially efficient if gathered on that day; and above all they are of the highest order if plucked then at the hour of noon, which corresponds to our 11 A. M. till 1 P. M., for in this case they possess the greatest amount of s h e n which the course of Time or order of the Universe can possibly implant in them. Such medicines are especially good for fever. Quite on a par with them stands s h e n s h u i [4] or "s h e n water", which heaven very exceptionally is so good as to send down in that same remarkable hour. If it happens to fall, every one enthusiastically catches it in whatever receptacle may be handy; indeed, it is an universal remedy for every sort of disease, and, moreover, a supremely excellent tonic for the soul.

The use of mugwort, moxa or artemisia for exorcising purposes in the midsummer season certainly is old, being mentioned in the Calendar of King and Ch'u: "On the 5th day of the fifth month "the four classes of the people gambol in the herbage, and have "competitive games with plants of all kinds. They pluck mugwort "and make dolls of it, which they suspend over their gates "and doors, in order to expel poisonous airs or influences" [5]. The efficacy of this plant as an exorcising medicine is also advertised

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[1] 女巫掌歲時祓除釁浴. Ch. 25, l. 40.

[2] 艾. [3] 插艾能長命、插艾能輕堅.

[4] 神水.

[5] 五月五日四民幷踢百草、又有鬬百草之戲。採艾以爲人、懸門戶上以禳毒氣. *King Ch^{c}u sui-shi ki.*

in the *Suh poh wuh chi*, in which we read that "vegetable drugs "made of young sprouts of mugwort have a wonderful effect. Cakes "made thereof, eaten to the number of three or five if the stomach "be subsequently stuffed with cooked rice, work excellently. They "cure spectral influences of all kinds" [1]. We do not believe there can be much doubt that the exorcising virtues of the moxa plant are the principal reason why it is selected for cauterisation of patients affected by spectral complaints (cf. p. 947).

It is professedly in the main because of their strong flavour that exorcising virtue is ascribed to the afore-mentioned plants. For no other reason, no doubt, visitors to mortuary houses hide some garlic roots in their garments (Bk I, p. 32). And no wonder now that all over China protection from evil is sought by wearing objects of fragrant wood, leaves, roots and fruits, or miniature satchels and bottles containing smelling substances. The elegant world of China possesses a great variety of such protective amulets, owing also to the fact that they may be made in the shape of *e. g.* stags, tortoises, bats, cranes, and peaches, which, as we know, are symbols of happiness and longevity, and therefore may create these blessings; or they may have the form of a child, thus furthering procreation, or of a fan of state, to bring promotion to official dignity. Some are shaped like mushrooms representing the chi of immortality (pp. 306 *sqq*), or, above all, like tigers, cocks, swords, or other spectre-scaring things. Such scented objects are often ornamented with characters or phrases expressing happiness and expulsion of evil, and among the bottles of porcelain and enamelled bronze I have seen many admirable specimens of art. It is now self-evident that they are often bestowed as presents, even by emperors upon meritorious ministers and generals. Scented amulets of any kind are deemed especially useful when pestilence is rife, and are indeed preferably worn in the hottest season, and sniffed incessantly.

It is also undoubtedly owing to its powerful fragrance that exorcising and healing virtue is ascribed to the lan [2] or orchid. Li Shi-chen states, "that as this is a scented plant, it is able to "avert misfortune, so that, as Luh Ki's Explanatory Notes on the "*Shi king* [3] say, it was a popular custom in Ching (now Khai-fung)

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[1] 新生艾作乾菜妙。作餌飴吞三五枚、以飯壓之良。療一切鬼氣. Ch. 7. [2] 蘭.

3 See page 238. We cannot, however, find any passage to this effect in our copy of this book.

"for both sexes in the third month of the year to pluck orchids "at the confluences of streams, in order to avert mishap from "themselves" [1]. Their delicious smell is, moreover, sure to attract beneficent spirits and gods, whose cherished presence always exerts an exorcising influence in an eminent degree. Li Shi-chen wrote indeed, that "according to the *Si-king tsah ki* [2], ponds and gardens during "the Han dynasty were planted with orchids, in order to cause the "shen to descend" [3].

It is now perfectly clear why in the hot pestilential part of the year particular recourse is had to smoke of hiang [4] or incense. Just like strongly scented plants, such smoke renders bad odours imperceptible, which, according to simple minds, is equivalent to saying that it destroys them; and wuh khi 惡氣, "bad odours", also means "influences of evil". On page 32 of Book I we have noticed the customary purification of the body by stepping over burning incense-powder after visits to mortuary houses. Treatment with incense smoke is prescribed when some one is hit by nocturnal "spectre-strokes", and it is a most usual thing to burn odorous wood or resin beside sickbeds. The trade in these ingredients thrives most in times of cholera or other plagues, when they are thrown by handfulls into bonfires kindled in streets and squares, in order that gods shall descend to enjoy the smell, and by their presence dispel spectres. And young and old in such seasons of woe wear ashes of aromatic wood in satchels on their breasts, in their girdles or their clothes, and many are careful never to lay aside such precious amulets.

Apart from their smell, aromatic resins owe exorcising virtue to the consideration that they are coagulated blood of living plants (cf. page 296), that is to say, conglomerations of shen or vitality; thus, by corroborating the shen of those who swallow them, they destroy within them evil caused by kwei. Resinous matter accordingly is amongst the very best of medicines. Many varieties, either aromatic or not, bearing different names and obtained from sundry

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[1] 香蘭乃香草能辟不祥、陸璣詩疏言、鄭俗三月男女秉蘭于水際以自祓除. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 14, l. 75.

[2] I cannot discover this passage in my copy.

[3] 西京雜記載漢時池苑種蘭以降神. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 14, l. 76.

[4] 香.

inland and exotic trees, are used by the sick, either in solutions or dry; but all are not prized equally highly. One of the most precious sorts is "incense of An-sih" [1] or Parthia, which, if we may believe Twan Ch'ing-shih, [2] was obtained from trees imported from Persia and called there p'ih sié [3] or "expellers of spectral evil"; yet we find that this resin came from Annam, Sumatra, and other regions just as well. It is an excellent medicine for consumption, for women who dream of intercourse with spectres, for "devils' strokes", and for babies suffering from convulsions; it has also the best effect against contagious spectral disease, insanity, and pestilence. Like virtues are ascribed to so-called "incense of Suhoh" [4], which is also imported from various other countries. And very highly prized is the "incense which brings back souls" [5], imported from the west even before the Christian era. As its name indicates, it can resuscitate the dead; no wonder therefore that it is to this day burned in cases of coma, swoon, and all sorts of disease caused by soul-thieving devils. The odorous smoke of resins must be the more powerful since it contains also fire and warmth, the very elements which compose the Yang or Shen of Universe. Doubly powerful also must be essence extracted from resin by distillation or other processes; and such oil is indeed most highly esteemed for amulets and as a component of medicines.

Great medical and exorcising virtue is ascribed to musk, in fact the strongest odour in China. It is called shé-ts'i hiang [6], "perfume from the navel of the musk-deer", or shé hiang [7], "musk-deer perfume". As early as the fourth century of our era it was recommended by Koh Hung for victims of nightmare spectres, [8] and he advised that it should also be worn on the body or in the hair by sufferers from sundry complaints. "In the twentieth year of the Yuen kia period (A. D. 443)", thus runs an old tale, "Wang Hwai-chi lost his mother. Her burial was just "completed, when suddenly he saw above a tree an old woman "with a large coiffure and a white muslin petticoat, who without "resting her feet on the branches stood right up in the air. Coming "home, he told the inmates about the matter, whereupon his

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1 安息香.

2 *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 18.

3 辟邪樹. 4 蘇合香. 5 返魂香.

6 麝臍香. 7 麝香.

8 *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 5.

"daughter got the hot and virulent disease (fever) and her face on "a sudden became like that of the spectre on the tree [1]. But some "musk was given her to swallow, and forthwith she was again in "her usual condition. It is a popular conviction that the odour of "musk expels evil; and this incident proves that this is true" [2].

An indication that the use of musk as a defence against demoniacal attacks is old is found in the fact that Li Shi-chen quoted the following statement from the *Pen-ts'ao king* [3] or Botanical Classic, a work no longer extant as a separate book, but believed to have been written in the pre-Christian epoch, nay, even by the emperor Shen-nung: "It averts evil influences, kills spectral beings, "wards off the three classes of animals, ku poison, plague, fever, "and swoon of terror". [4] No wonder that the great T'ao Hung-king wrote, that "if worn on the body or swallowed, and placed "in the pillow, it averts bad dreams, as also mortal disease and "demoniacal influence" [5]. Other authors give currency to these same opinions. They advise that a small dose of musk, grated in milk, be put into the mouth of babies labouring under convulsions or struck by evil, and consequently in a state of suffocation; and children suffering from fever may be cured by inscribing on their foreheads, with ink in which some musk has been grated, the characters 去邪辟魔, "remove sié, and avert devils (Mara)". Musk is frequently replaced by civet, obtained from the south, to the strong scent of which medical men cannot, of course, refuse a like amount of curative properties. Fever-patients in Amoy are often given tails of goats to eat, confessedly on account of the rank smell of this food.

There is in the annual revolution of the Universe yet a third

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1 This points, of course, to possession by that spectre.

2 元嘉二十年王懷之丁母憂。葬畢、忽見樹上有嫗、頭戴大髮、身被白羅裙、足不踐柯、亭然虛立。還家叙述、其女遂得暴疾、面忽變作向樹杪鬼狀。乃與麝香服之、尋復如常。世云麝香辟惡、此其驗也. *Sheu shen heu ki;* TS, sect. 神異, ch. 317.

3 本草經.

4 辟惡氣、殺鬼精物、去三蟲蠱毒瘟瘧驚癇. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 51, I, l. 49.

5 佩服及置枕間、辟惡夢及尸病鬼氣. *Op et loc. cit.*

period which the Chinese devote to the use of exorcising medicines and charms. We have seen that on the midsummer festival the struggle of the Yang against the Yin and its spectres results in complete victory. But then the picture is reversed: the Yin with its spectres regains its ground, steadily reducing the Yang to its minimum of power. A great day in this process is deemed to be the ninth of the ninth month, which from early times has borne the significant name of chung yang,[1] "the Yang in the second power". This term may in fact express nothing more than "three times three"; but, whereas three, like all odd numbers, is considered to be yang, the number nine means the Yang in the second power, and the ninth day of the ninth month the day affected by the Yang in a multiple degree. This philosophical play affords to man an exquisite opportunity of gathering from nature efficacious medicines, wherewith to purify himself from spectral influences and increase his resistance by strengthening his soul. For many ages these medicines have principally been asters or chrysanthemums, and dogwood (cornel).

The aster bears indeed the significant name of jih tsing[2], "vital-spirits of the sun" (cf. p. 322). Its flowers resemble the radiant disk of the sun, and unfold themselves in their greatest beauty in the ninth month; it is therefore certain that on the great yang day of that month they are saturated with Yang, so that nature itself appoints that day for making extracts of them in spirits, for use as a healthy beverage. This custom wss observed as early as the Han dynasty, as we have stated on page 322, and is the subject of the following tradition dating from that period:

"Hwang King of Jü-nan had followed Fei Ch'ang-fang (pp. 582 "622, 1034) for several years on his journeys in search of wisdom, "when the latter said to him: 'On the 9th of the ninth month some "fatal accident will occur in your dwelling; go home immediately, "and tell the inmates to make red satchels containing dogwood "and tie these on their pulses; this done, they must climb an "eminence and there drink spirits of asters, in this way to avert "that fatality'. King did so, and all his family ascended a hill; and "returning in the evening they found that the fowls, dogs, cows "and sheep had all at the same moment perished by violence. "When Ch'ang-fang was informed of it, he said: 'This is the way "to employ substitutes'. This is the origin of our popular custom of

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1. 重陽. 2. 日精.

"ascending heights on that ninth day and drinking spirits, as also "of the custom, observed by married women, of wearing on their "loins satchels containing dogwood" [1].

This tale is at the same time the oldest reference to the use, on that special day, of so-called chu yü [2] or dogwood against spectral evil. Its seeds, which have an acrid or peppery taste and a strong flavour, have long been highly esteemed for spicing food, but also for driving spectres out of the body. They are especially good if gathered on the 9th of the ninth month, their flavour and taste then being professedly highest. Simply deposited or suspended in houses, they are excellent spectre-bogies. It is an old prescription to plant dogwood trees over wells, as the leaves will drop into the water and keep those who drink it free from contagion and plague. In many parts of the empire, spirits in which the seeds have been steeped are drunk on the 9th of the ninth month, and the seeds are worn in the hair.

China's therapeutists are in the habit of administering medicines in mixtures, in which each ingredient has curative or tonic virtues of its own, and is expected to stimulate and assist the others inside the patient. While some components drive out the disease-spectres and their sié, the others increase the vital spirits, in order that these may immediately fill up the space which the spectres evacuate. It is his skill in making good compounds which promotes the practician to the higher order, and makes him at the same time a man of wealth and repute. The mixture is often kneeded by means of glutinous substance into pills, called hwan [3], tan [4] or tan hwan, or also yoh hwan [5], "medicine pills"; and to keep them in a good condition for a long time, free from moisture and mould, they are inclosed within globular coatings of wax, called lah hwan [6],

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[1] 汝南桓景隨費長房遊學累年、長房謂曰、九月九日汝家中當有災、宜急去、令家人各作絳囊盛茱萸以繫臂、登高飲菊花酒、此禍可除。景如言、齊家登山、夕還見鷄犬牛羊一時暴死。長房聞之曰、此可代也。今世人九日登高飲酒、婦人帶茱萸囊蓋始於此. *Suh ts^{c}i hiai ki.*

[2] 茱萸 (or tang 欓?).

[3] 丸. [4] 彈. [5] 藥丸. [6] 蠟丸.

"wax-balls". Their medical name or the name of the maker or seller is imprinted on the outside. They are offered for sale in labelled paper boxes, which contain also a printed advertisement with information regarding the numerous complaints for which the contents of the balls are useful, and the ingredients and drugs which, in each of these cases, should be added to the extract or decoction; the sale of the balls thus tending to extend the market for medicines in general. The advertisement also insists upon a frequent use of the contents by way of prophylactics; it warns people against counterfeits sold by rivals whose ignorance is as extensive as their impudence, and minutely describes the place where the seller of the genuine article has his shop. Some general wise medical remarks are supplied into the bargain.

Such medical merchandise is for sale almost everywhere in pharmaceutical and other shops, even in realms and countries adjacent to China, which, together with her culture, have adopted her therapeutic art. They are also exported to transmarine colonies. No doubt every day new kinds appear in the medicine market. Many, especially if fabricated for exorcising purposes, are denoted by such special names as "balls or pellets for the expulsion of spectres" [1], "spectre-killing balls" [2], "spectre-shooting balls" [3], or others, borrowed from the dictionary of the great exorcising war. That their use is old may be learned from the *Hai luh sui shi* (page 510), according to which "spectre-repelling balls were bestowed by Wu of the Liang dynasty on his ministers on New Year's day" [4], as also from the writings of Koh Hung, which mention "spectre-shooting balls used by Immortals against infection by plagues" [5]. And we have seen on page 679 that Yü Pao wrote in the third century of an inventor of balls containing eight poisonous substances, which with a thunderous discharge of diarrhœa ejected spectres from sufferers who had been possessed for many years.

As a sample of such wax balls let us analyse "those prepared "for curing five kinds of sié, *viz.* madness caused by sié, demon-"iacal delirium, madly running about, stupor, and a state in which "the patient recognises nobody. All these complaints being encoun-

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1 却[卻]鬼丸. 2 殺鬼彈.

3 射鬼丸.

4 梁武帝元日賜群臣却鬼丸. *Pei wen yen fu*, ch. 35, l. 12

5 仙人禁瘟疫法用射鬼丸. *Op. et loc. cit.*

"ters with spectres, it is necessary to obtain spectre-killing pills" [1]. These contain the following nine ingredients:

1. "Red cinnabar" 丹砂, a famous life-prolonging medicine; see pp. 329 *seq.*
2. "Male yellow" 雄黃 or operment; see *ibid.*
3. "Dragon's bones" 龍骨, certain fossil bones, to be found in the shops of leading apothecaries.
4. 馬目毒公??
5. "Spectre-arrow"; see page 1072.
6. "Spectre-pestle" 鬼臼?
7. Small red peas, grated to powder.
8. A yuen ts'ing 芫青 or beetle which lives on the yuen plant or Daphne (?); see Williams' Dictionary, 芫.
9. Some kernels of peaches, roasted without the skin, and pounded.

These ingredients, before being put into the wax coating, are pounded together, passed through a sieve, and mixed with other drugs. A dose is as much as three balls contain; three doses should be taken every day, while the patient rigorously abstains from onions, leek, and other acrid plants, as also from animal food. The balls should also be worn in a red satchel over the right pulse by women, and over the left by men, or be tied to the heads of babies. No married woman, fowl or dog may witness their preparation [2].

Medical substances or mixtures thereof are suspended in doorways in times of epidemic, or worn on the breast, and they are burned on floors and in the courtyards of houses. Various maladies may be cured by letting their smoke pass over the patients. Quack tales have been invented to prove their excellence and further the sale. We have given one, at least fourteen hundred years old, on page 1076; the following evidently is another version thereof:

"In the second year of the Kien yen period of the Sung "dynasty (1129), when the great year was in yiu, pestilence was "rife everywhere, and its victims died in very large numbers. At "that time, a student, Ting Ki-hwui by name, travelled from the "Ts'ing-ch'ing mountains in Shuh (Szĕ-ch'wen) eastward to Nan-"yang, and entered this place through the gate of the western

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[1] 五邪丸療邪狂、鬼魅妄言、狂走、恍惚、不識人。此爲鬼忤當得殺鬼丸.

2 T S, section 藝術, ch. 444.

"bazaar. Beholding a large number of sufferers from the plague, "he took drugs out of his bag, and benevolently gave every one "a pellet; and this animated medicine on touching their lips cured "them without a single exception because the plague-spectres in "the market, many hundreds in number, seeing that student "distribute those medicines, all ran away in consternation. Their "king went to the student, to interrogate him about his Taoist "magical art, but the student said he had none at all, and showed "him the contents of his bag. On seeing the medicines, the king "was seized with fright; with his head on the ground he sued for "his life and ran away. This medicine, carried in the sash in the "mountains, drives away tigers, wolves, snakes, and vermin, and, "when in the water, it removes water-spectres and crocodiles" [1]. There follows an enumeration of the components of this medicine.

Yet one more quack tale of more modern date may be quoted. "In the year ping-tszĕ (1756) of the Khien lung period, Sü "Yih-shen of Hu-cheu (in Chehkiang pr., on the banks of the Great "Lake) perceived that air was blowing into his room through "the window, so that the duster of fowls' feathers lying on the "table was turned about incessantly. He rose and touched it with "his hands, and felt that it was wet and soft like a woman's "unbound hair, while it emitted so offensive a smell that he could "not approach. Though the cold of it passed through his hands "and arms into his shoulders, he stoutly withstood this sensation "and held the hair fast. Then in the corner of the wall a voice "was heard as if out of a jar; 'I am Wu Chung', it said, 'from "the vast lake [2]; affrighted by a thunder-storm I have sought "shelter here; merciful sir, please allow me to go home'. 'A

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1 建炎二年太歲在酉、疫氣流行、死者極衆。卽有書生丁季廻從蜀青城山來東過南陽、從西市門入。見患疫癘者頗多、遂於囊中出藥、人各惠之一圓、靈藥霑脣疾無不瘥、市中疫鬼數百餘見書生施藥、悉皆驚怖而走。乃有鬼王詣書生、欲求受其道法、書生曰、吾無道法、乃囊中之藥呈於鬼王。鬼王覩藥驚惶、叩頭乞命而走。此方藥帶之入山、能辟虎狼蛇蠱、入水能除水怪蛟蜃. TS, sect. 藝術, ch. 320.

2 Spectres of plagues dwell in waters; cf. p. 499.

"violent plague is now raging at the gates of Wu', said Sü; 'are "you perchance the spectre of it?' 'Yes I am' was the answer. "'Just one reason the more why I should not let you go', said "Sü, 'lest you inflict evil on men. 'I have a recipe by which the "plague may be escaped', said the spectre, 'which I will give you "in return for mercy'. Sü bade the spectre mention the medicines, "and he wrote them down, on which the stench and the chill in "his arm became so intolerable that he was about to let it go. "But fearing that it would commit still further outrages, his "domestics, who were near by, brought vases and bade him to put "the duster into one of these, and to close and seal it; he did so, "and they threw the closed vase into the Great Lake. The recipe "which he had written out contained four ounces of thunder-pills, "thirty sheets of gold leaf, three mace of cinnabar, one ounce "of crystalized alum, and four ounces of 'great yellow' (?), made "into pills or balls by means of water, and to be taken in doses "of three mace. The prefect of Su-cheu, Chao Wen-shan, asked Sü "for the recipe, in order to bring relief to his people; and "all men saved their lives by means of it." [1]

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[1] 乾隆丙子湖州徐翼伸覺窻外有氣噴入、几上鷄毛箒盤旋不已。徐起、以手握箒、濕軟如婦人亂髮、惡臭不可近。冷氣自手貫臂直達于肩、徐强忍持之。墻角有聲如出甕中、稱我姓吳名中、從洪澤湖來、被雷驚故匿于此、求恩人放歸。徐問、現在吳門大瘟、汝得非瘟鬼否。曰、是也。徐曰、是瘟鬼則我愈不放汝、以免汝去害人。鬼曰、避瘟有方、敢獻方以乞恩。徐令數藥名而手錄之、錄畢不勝其臭且臂冷不可耐、欲放之。又懼爲祟、家奴在旁各持鐔鑵請納箒而封焉、徐從之、封投太湖。所載方雷丸四兩、飛金三十張、硃砂三錢、明礬一兩、大黃四兩、水化爲丸、每服三錢。蘇州太守趙文山求其方以濟人、無不活者. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 7.

CHAPTER XV.

SEPULCHRAL MEDICINES AND AMULETS.

The principle that articles which are imbued with shen substance may possess exorcising power has led the Chinese to employ things obtained from coffins and graves as medicines and amulets. We have mentioned (Bk I, page 328) decoctions of the wood of old and new coffins, which, as the famous Ch'en Tsang-khi in the eighth century of our era emphatically declared, work with special efficacy upon patients who labour under the influence of spectres. We have stated (Bk. II, p. 405) that therapeutic value was ascribed by that same great man to plants which grow on graves; that (Bk. I, pp. 328 *seq.*) decoctions of earth taken from graves are drunk as medicine, and that armlets of the dead and old coffin-nails are worn as amulets.

Sepulchral medicines and amulets were recommended in times antecedent to Ch'en Tsang-khi. In a biography of Sü Szĕ-poh [1], a Taoist specialist in water-therapy of the fifth century of our era, we read "that there lived a matron who had been troubled with "uncurable constipation for many years, and that Szĕ-poh, making "a diagnosis, said: 'This is a case of corpse-malady (see page 684, "no. 5); fetch a pillow from under a corpse, seethe it, and let her "consume it, and she will be cured'. On this they went to an old "grave, took a pillow out of it, one side of which was rotten, and "the patient having consumed it was forthwith better.

"Later on there was in Mo-ling (Nanking) one Chang King, who "had a swollen abdomen and a yellow complexion from his fifteenth "year. The united attempts of physicians being unable to cure him, "Szĕ-poh was consulted. 'Here we have a case of stony worms', "said he, 'extremely difficult to cure; we must seethe a pillow of "a corpse'. Following his advice, they decocted such a pillow, and

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1 徐嗣伯. According to the Books of the Southern Ts'i Dynasty, ch. 23, l. 8, his name was Sü Szĕ 徐嗣.

"gave the soup to the patient, who with a copious discharge of "diarrhœa excreted five pints of worms with heads as hard as "stones, and then was better.

"Afterwards he was consulted by Ch'en Sang-yih, who suffered "from pains in his eyes, and often saw spectres. 'Sié influences "have intruded into your liver', said Szĕ-poh; 'try to get the "pillow of a dead man, seethe it and consume the extract, and "then bury the pillow again in its former place'. The patient did "so, and he too was cured.

"Now he was interviewed by Wang Yen. 'The three diseases "were of different characters', said this man, 'and yet you cured "them all in the same way with pillows from corpses; how was "that?' And the answer was: 'Corpse-malady is spectral influences "in a suppressed and latent state, causing the patient to labour "under constipation; if then he gets a coffin-pillow and con-"sumes it, the hwun and breath of the dead man fly over into "him, so that those spectral influences can adhere to his body no "longer; it is in this wise that corpse-malady is cured. The petrified "worms were worms of long standing, which, as the medicines "had stiffened within the patient, had become so hard that nothing "in this world could expel them; therefore something spectral was "needed to chase them and thus render it possible to dispel them; "and to this end I ordered those people to boil for him a pillow "taken from a coffin. And when sié influences enter the liver, "they cause pains in the eyes[1], so that the patient sees mang-"liang spectres. Something sié is then required to hook those "influences; and as such I used a coffin-pillow, which I thereupon "ordered them to re-inter, because those influences would then be "removed along with it".[2]

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1 The liver is connected with the eyes; see the synoptical table on page 26.

2 嘗有嫗人患滯瘀積年不差、嗣伯爲診之曰、此尸疰也、當取死人枕、煮服之、乃愈。於是往古冢、中取枕、枕已一邊腐缺、服之卽差。

後秣陵人張景年十五腹脹面黃。衆醫不能療、以問嗣伯。嗣伯曰、此石蚘耳、極難療、當死人枕煮之。依語煮枕、以湯投之、得大痢、幷蚘蟲頭堅如石五升、病卽差。

後沈儈翼患眼痛、又多見鬼物、以問嗣伯。嗣

Ch'en Tsang-khi and Li Shi-chen carefully recorded this disgusting medical method in their standard works. The first-named authority moreover wrote, "that since pillows and mats placed under corpses "also cure boils, these can be made to disappear by rubbing them "fourteen times therewith, so that they come to a head" [1]. And Li Shi-chen adds: "They cure spontaneous perspiration. Steal the "border of the mat of a man who died in perspiration, burn it "to ashes, boil these, wash the patient with the water, and he will "become better. According to the *Shan fan fang* [2] of Sié Shi-ts'in, "they cure corpse-malady. If you have seen a corpse or heard cries "of mourning, take some ravelings of a coffin-mat or some other "things which have lain in a coffin and were thrown away in the "road, and seethe them in three pints of water with a tiger's claw "three inches in length, until one pint remains; then consume this "water, and good effect will follow immediately". [3]

Water obtained from old graves has been recommended for sundry diseases for many ages. "By the Loh river, to the west", says Koh

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伯曰、邪氣入肝、可覓死人枕、煮服之、竟可埋枕於故處。如其言、又愈。

王晏問之。曰、三病不同而皆用死人枕而俱差、何也。荅曰、尸疰者鬼氣伏而未起、故令人沉滯、得死人枕投之、魂氣飛越、不得復附體、故尸病可差。石蚘者久蚘也、醫療既癖、蚘中轉堅、世間藥不能遣、所以須鬼物驅之、然後可散、故令煮死人枕也。夫邪氣入肝故使眼痛而見魍魎、應須邪物以鉤之、故用死人枕也、氣因枕去、故令埋於冢間也. History of the South, ch. 32, ll. 17 *seq.*

[1] 死人枕席又治疣目、以枕及席拭之二七遍、令爛、去疣. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 38, l. 12.

[2] 刪繁方, "The numerous Medical Prescriptions amended"; mentioned in the Catalogue of the Books of the Sui Dynasty (ch. 34, l. 32) as a work of thirteen chapters.

[3] 療自汗。盜汗死人席緣、燒灰、煮汁、浴身、自愈。按謝士秦刪繁方治尸病。或見尸或聞哭聲者取死人席斬、棺內餘棄路上者、一虎爪長三寸、水三升煮一升、服立効. *Ibid.*

Hung, "is an ancient tomb, the ruinous pit of which contains much "water. There also is much gravel in it, and the water which rises "from this cures boils and abscesses. In summer, some wayfarers "with boils and ulcers, tortured by heat, perceived this water in "the grave, so limpid and so good; they bathed therein, and saw "their ulcers healed. All sick people who heard the news flocked "to the spot to wash themselves, and some drank of it, to cure "intestinal diseases. The people living near by erected a temple "by the grave and sold the water there, and the buyers continu-"ously sacrified wine and meat in that temple; but they appeared "in numbers so large that the water gave out, and the sellers "under cover of night clandestinely carried other water into the "grave. People unable to come themselves because of the distance, "sent messengers with pots and letters to buy water. No wonder "that the sellers became very rich. It was then rumoured that the "water had no longer any divine power (shen); the mandarins "therefore interfered, filled up the pit, and thus put an end to "the business".[1]

Ch'en Tsang-khi also paid his attention to sepulchral water. "Water "in old graves contains poison which may cause death. Boils and "ulcers of all sorts are cured if washed with it. Water in provi-"sion pots, that is to say, in pots with eatables that were placed "in old graves, has a salutary effect, provided it be pure and "limpid, and has been standing therein for a long time. If its "taste is bitter, it is always somewhat poisonous. Spectral influ-"ence, strokes of evil, encounters with disease, and pains in the "heart and belly may be cured with it, as well as evil dreams of

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[1] 洛西有古人墓、穿壞多水。墓中多石灰、石灰汁主治瘡。夏月行人有病瘡者煩熱、見此墓中水清好、因自洗浴、瘡偶便愈。於是諸病者聞之、悉往自洗、轉有飲之以治腹內疾者。近墓居人便於墓所立廟舍而賣此水、而往買者又常祭廟中酒肉不絕、而來買者轉多、此水盡、於是賣水者常夜竊運他水以益之。其遠道人不能往者皆因行使、或持器遺信買之。於是賣水者大富。人或言其無神、官家禁止、遂填塞之乃絕. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, ch. II, sect. 道意.

"spectres and spirits; and it kills intestinal worms. No larger "potions than the two hands together can hold may be taken, "otherwise melancholy will be produced. I have not yet tried its "effects upon eyes which see spectres.

"Choking in the throat is immediately cured by simply drinking "water from pitchers or pots which have been found in old graves. "Such water has a divine effect of the highest order" [1].

As a matter of course, the exorcising and curative power of graves differs in degree according to the shen or spiritual, divine power of the dead who is buried in it. We read for instance "that "Li Yü-khing, doctor in the Academy of Learning, ruled Shang-cheu "with so strong a hand, and so completely removed nefarious charac- "ters from service, that miscreants and worthless officers feared and "respected him as a shen... He now rests in his tomb in the Heng "mountains, where to this day he is feared and respected so "much that all who pass by dismount, and sufferers from disease "and fever take earth from his grave and lay it on the mat of "their couch, health being regularly restored in this way. So great "are the respect and awe which he inspired" [2].

According to Ch'en Tsang-khi, "earth from the top of a grave "cures plagues or contagious disease. Take such earth thence on "the first day of the fifth month, or a brick or stone, put it into "a pot, and bury this outside the gate below the steps; it will then "preserve the whole family from influences of the seasons. Or take "away a brick from an old grave on New Year's day, pronounce "a spell over it, and suspend it over the main gate; then plagues

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[1] 古塚中水有毒殺人。洗諸瘡皆瘥。。。糧罌中水乃古塚中食罌中水也、取清澄久遠者佳。辛平有小毒。主治鬼氣中惡病忤心腹痛、惡夢鬼神、殺蚘蟲。進一合、不可多飲、令人心悶。洗眼見鬼未試。

噎疾古塚內罐罌中水但得飲之卽愈。極有神效. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 5, l. 17.

[2] 國子博士李餘慶知常州强於政事、果於去惡、凶人惡吏畏之如神。。。葬於橫山、人至今畏之、過墓者皆下、有病瘧者取墓土、著床席間、輒差。其敬憚之如此. *Mung khi pih t'an*, ch. 10.

"will not visit you the whole year round" [1]. And Sun Sze-moh wrote in the *Ts'ien kin yao fang* "that if any one has an abscess "in the bowels, let him make some mud of earth which lay on a "dead man's grave, and rub the abscess with it, and the effect "will be excellent" [2].

Bricks obtained from graves, thus recommended by Ch'en Tsang-khi, are frequently used to this day as charms when houses are built or repaired in a year in which, according to geomancers and chronomancers, building is unpropitious, and, as a consequence, pecuniary losses, disease or death afflict the inmates. One such brick is placed under each bed-post, and grave-earth, mixed with water and some mud from a busy crossway, is daubed on the wall above the gate or door; at the same time appropriate exorcising scripts are worn in the clothes, or fixed to the walls.

The doctrine that the earth of a grave contains demon-expelling soul-substance of the person who is buried in it, implies that this must be the case also with earth over which a corpse has been burned, so that the ashes have been mingled with it. No wonder that Li Shi-chen categorically wrote "that ashes from such a place "cure fever caused by sié, and that black earth, taken thence and "worn in the sash, or grated with onions into pills, and in this "form put into the ears of the patient, or bound on his shoulders, "will put a stop to his fever if they are fastened to the left shoul-"der when the patient is of the male sex, on on her right shoulder "in the case of females" [3]. He also gives the following recipes, borrowed from great authorities:

"If a person is liable to nightmare and frequent dreaming, some "ashes of a man who has been cremated, placed in his pillow or on his "belly, will put a stop to the complaint. In cases of death-swoon or "sudden death (see p. 687), when the patient recognises nobody, two "or three mace of earth from a place where a person has been burned "should be powdered, seethed in water, and poured out on the

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1 塚上土主治瘟疫。五月一日取土或磚石、入瓦器中、埋着門外階下、合家不患時氣。又正旦取古塚磚呪懸大門上、一年無疫疾. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 7, ll. 8 *seq.*

2 腸癰、死人塚上土作泥塗之、良. *Ibid.*, l. 9.

3 燒尸塲上土主治邪癘、取帶黑土、同葱搗作丸塞耳、或繫膊上、卽止、男左、女右. *Ibid*, l. 8.

"patient, who will then forthwith be restored to life. Should such "earth be unobtainable, it may be replaced by dust from inside the "kitchen-furnace. And if babies cry at night, some ashes from a place "where a person has been burned must be placed beside their pillows" [1].

The belief in the power of sepulchral charms must certainly be admitted to have been strong in former ages, seeing that instances are recorded of violation of graves with the purpose of obtaining such objects. "Under the southern T'ang dynasty (A. D. 937—975), "Li P'ing-shang said to P'an Yiu: 'In the tombs of the six dynasties "(which have reigned between the House of Han and that of "T'ang) there must be many precious swords and mirrors; such "things, if worn on the body, might expel spectres'. Chang Tszĕ "too was charmed by this suggestion, and the three men bought "a plot of ground containing ancient graves, situated in the Khi-"lung hills. They went thither to bathe, but prepared baskets and "hoes, opened the graves, and for a long time found antique objects "and trinkets of former generations. It is said that they opened "an unknown number of graves" [2].

Among the things useful as exorcising charms and medicines because they have been in contact with corpses, we may further rank ropes which have served for strangulation. Ch'en Tsang-khi wrote "that in cases of sudden fits of insanity, the cord wherewith "some one has hung himself should be burned, and the ashes, "grated and mixed with water, be consumed [3]. According to the "*Ming tao chi* of Chang Lei [4], a well-to-do gentleman in Khi-shui

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1 好覺多夢、燒人灰置枕中腹上、自止。尸厥卒死不知人者、燒尸塲土二三錢擂細、湯泡灌之、卽活。如無、以竈心土代之。小兒夜啼、燒尸塲土置枕邊. *Ibid.*

2 南唐李平嘗語潘佑曰、六朝冢多寶劍寶鑑、佩之可辟鬼。會張洎亦好其說、乃共買雞籠山古塚地。遇休沐、則具畚鍤、破冢、得古傳器玩頁久。曰未知此人發得幾冢. *T'ung kien ch'ang pien* 通鑑長編, a work unknown to me; quoted in T S, sect. 坤輿, ch. 138.

3 自經死繩、卒發狂顚、燒末水服. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 38, l. 11.

4 A great scholar and statesmen who lived in the eleventh century and the twelfth. See his biography in the History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 444.

"(in Hupeh pr.) wandered into a brothel, and was so frightened "that, on running away, he tumbled flat upon a man who had "been put to death. He went mad from fright, but the intelligent "physician P^{c}ang Ngan-shang [1] fetched a rope wherewith a prisoner "had been strangled, burned it to ashes, mixed these with drugs, "and gave them to him to consume; whereupon he recovered".[2]

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1 Also named Ngan-shi 安時; this miracle of medical art lived in the eleventh century. See his biography in ch. 462 of the History of the Sung Dynasty.

2 按張耒明道志云、蘄水一富家子遊倡宅驚走、仆于刑人身上。大駭發狂、明醫龐安常取絞死囚繩、燒灰、和藥、與服、遂愈. *Pen-ts^{c}ao kang muh* ch. 38, l. 12.

CHAPTER XVI.

EVIL AVERTED OR EXORCISED BY MEANS OF SUBSTITUTES OR SURROGATES.

An effective means of ridding a man of his illness or of spectral evil of any kind is to make it pass from him into or upon a beast or thing. China has indeed its scape-goats in various forms, and her people has used them since very early days.

Standard History records their use as early as the fourth century of our era. "The mother of the military governor Chang Shao was "ill and dying. Shun-yü Chi (see page 581), having consulted the "divining-stalks about her, told him to go out in a westerly direc- "tion and buy a large monkey, then to tie this animal to his "mother's arm and have it beaten by the bystanders to make "it cry incessantly, and let it go on the third day. Shao followed "his advice; the monkey ran out of the door, but was immediately "worried to death by the dogs, and his mother's health was thereupon "restored". [1]

Another wise man of that time advised people to help themselves in somewhat the same way. "Yen Khing from Hwui-ki was an able "diviner by means of tortoises and stalks. His fellow townsman, "Wei Shu by name, wanted to make a journey to the east, and "as he knew that there were many robbers abroad in consequence "of the bad harvest, he told Yen Khing to consult the stalks. The "man did so, and said: 'Do not travel that way, sir, for you will "fall in with violent injurious influences, though not with rob- "bers'. And seeing that Wei Shu did not believe it, Yen Khing "said: 'If you cannot possibly put off the journey, then at least "avert that evil; try to get a white male dog from the family of

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[1] 護軍張劭母病篤。智筮之、使西出市沐猴、繫母臂、令傍人搥拍、恒使作聲、三日放去。劭從之、其猴出門卽爲犬所咋死、母病遂差. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 95, l. 12.

"Tuh Mu who live outside the western wall of the city, and fasten "it to the bow of your boat'. Wei Shu obtained a spotted dog "from those people, instead of a white one. 'Yet this too will do', "said Khing; 'but as, to my great regret, its colour is not pure, "some evil of less significance will remain, which, however, will "fall upon the domestic animals only; be no longer concerned "about anything else'. And Wei Shu departed. When halfway, the "dog suddenly began to howl most piteously, as if it were being "beaten. He went to see what was the matter, and found the "dog dead, having vomited more than a gallon of black blood. On "that same night several white geese upon Shu's outhouse died "without any apparent cause; but no harm befell his family"[1].

And in the writings of Twan Ch'ing-shih we read, that "there "lived in Shuh one Fei, a 'fowl-master', whose red eyes had no "black pupils, a man from Puh. In the first year of the Ch'ang "khing period (A. D. 821), when Twan Ch'ing-shih saw him, he "had already passed his seventieth year. He sometimes averted "calamity from others, always using a fowl for the purpose. On "such occasions a sacrifice was set out in the courtyard; he "fetched a pebble as large as a fowl's egg out of the river, and told "the patient to hold it in his hand; he then paced about, blew, "and cried aloud into the air, on which the fowl whirled round "and died, and the pebble broke into four pieces"[2].

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[1] 嚴卿會稽人也、善卜筮。鄉人魏序欲暫東行、荒年多抄盜、令卿筮之。卿筮曰、君愼不可東行必遭暴害之氣、而非劫也。序不之信、卿曰、既必不停、宜以禳之、可索西郭外獨母家白雄狗、繫著船前。求索止得駮狗無白者。卿曰、駮者亦足、然猶恨其色不純、當餘小毒、止及六畜輩耳、無所復憂。序行。半路狗忽然作聲甚急、如有人打之者。比視已死、吐黑血斗餘。其夕序墅上白鵝數頭無故自死、而序家無恙. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 14.

[2] 蜀有費雞師、目赤無黑睛、本濮人也。成式長慶初見之、已年七十餘。或爲人解災必用一雞。設祭於庭、又取江石如雞卵、令疾者握之、乃踏步作氣虛叱、雞旋轉而死、石亦四破. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 5.

Literature contains instances of persons who, out of mere devotion, took the ills of others upon themselves, even sacrificing their lives thereby. Under the Ming dynasty, "Mrs. Sü was the wife of Kao "Kin. One day, when her father was ill and dying, a spirit de- "scended and said: 'Somebody must be found, to be his substitute'. "Sü, on hearing these words, washed herself and put on other clothes; "then she twisted the lapels of her coat into a rope, and strangled "herself with it. At that moment her father exclaimed: 'I am rid "of it'; and they found her body already stiff".[1]

Spectres which are prone to injure and torture men, will as a rule settle within or upon them. Therefore nothing better can be used for scape-goats than things which bear resemblance to the victims. As soon as the spectres or their sié have entered such an object, it is cast away, or destroyed by fire, or preserved, in order to imprison the spectres for a time, or even beaten or otherwise maltreated; in fact, such a substitute delivers the evil to the mercy of the exorcist. But only those persons who posses a special capacity of imposing their will on spectres can do such dangerous work without imperilling themselves too much.

Such a man was Tsᶜuen-tsᶜing, mentioned in a work of the ninth century. "This Buddhist monk from Yueh followed the command- "ments in a most precise manner, and was versed in the sorcery of "five schools by means of spirits, subdued and employed by means "of written charms. In his time there was a tradesman of the "Wang tribe, whose daughter-in-law was infected by sié influences, "so that she laughed and wept the whole day, and sometimes "madly yelled the whole night. She had been in that condition "for several years, when he called in Tsᶜüen-tsᶜing to treat her. "The monk made a puppet of twisted straw more than a foot in "length, dressed it in multicoloured stuff, put up an altar, and "placed the puppet upon it; and having belaboured it for a time "with spells, it began to sue for its life with a hiccoughing voice. "Tsᶜüen-tsᶜing asked it what spectre it was, and whence it came, "adding that it ought to answer clearly and distinctly, for, if it told

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[1] 徐氏高僅妻。一日父病篤、忽神降曰、當得人以代。徐聞之、遂沐浴、更衣、絞襟結帶、以自縊。父忽曰、予得免矣、索徐屍已僵. *Sung-yang hien chi* 松陽縣志, Memoirs concerning the Sung-yang District, in Chehkiang; quoted in T S, sect. 閨媛, ch. 36.

"an untruth, he would beat it to dust. On this the spectre made "the following confession:

"'I am a siao spectre (see page 498); some years ago, in spring, "I perceived this lady before the temple of the emperor Yü, and "settled upon her, so that whenever she moved or rested she "tumbled, her souls being perturbed. If you let the puppet go, I must "pass beyond the borders and never again venture near any spot "where smoke of the fires of men is seen'. But Tsʿüen-tsʿing said: "'This is all spectres' talk; it is not good to set it free'. And he "laid down an earthen jar beside the straw man, and whipped the "latter so that it crept into the jar, crying iu iu; he then folded "a strip of paper over the mouth of the jar, wrote a charm and "a seal in vermilion ink on the strip, and closed the mouth with "cement of six ingredients [1]; and finally he buried it in a mulberry "grove, telling the inmates of the house to leave it untouched. On "the same day the woman recovered.

"Five years after this event [2], the infantry and cavalry of Liu "Han-hung marched through that region, putting the whole po- "pulation to flight. The soldiery then perceived the spot with the "buried jar, and surmising there might be something hidden in it, "they unearthed it and knocked it to pieces; but all they saw was "a pheasant which burst out of it and took shelter among the "branches of the mulberries. Flapping its wings, it cried with a "human voice: 'Imprisoned by that Buddhist monk, I now be- "hold the sunlight'. At that time Tsüen-tsʿing had already departed "to the next world". [3]

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1 A magical mixture, containing one dose from six ingredients of different taste, besides some other things.

2 This may, I think, have occurred some time between A.D. 879 and 886.

3 越僧全清精於戒律而善五部法書符厭役鬼神之術。時有市人姓王、兒婦染邪氣、或盡日哭泣、或終夜狂呼。如此數歲、後召全清治之。乃縛草人長尺餘、衣之五綵、結壇、立草人於上、禁呪之良久、嗚咽而語唯稱乞命。全清詰之是何精魅、從何而來、分明言之、如虛妄、撲成微塵。云、是魑鬼、頃歲春日於禹廟前見伊人、遂相附、令其舉止顛倒、魂魄昏迷。和尚儻捨之卽自逾境、不敢近於人煙。全清曰、此妖詐、不宜釋之。

Should the spirit of evil be the disembodied soul of a man, a portrait of this man may be belaboured most effectually with the same object. "The daughter of Chang, prefect of Shang-teh, was engaged "to be married to a son of the Cheu family, but illness brought "her to the grave when she was no more than seventeen. This "Cheu then espoused a daughter of one Wang, who was about "the same age. The marriage was arranged, but before the date "of the consummation was selected, Wang's daughter was struck "by evil. Beating her forehead with her hands, she exclaimed: "'I am the fourth of the Chang sisters, and who are you that robs me "of my bridegroom?' Young Cheu was apprised of the matter, and "informed the prefect. The consort of this grandee, wont to main- "tain strict order in her home, was informed also, and, flushed "with anger, suspended the painted portrait of her deceased daughter "on the wall, and proceeded to rebuke it in these terms: 'You were "engaged to be married to Cheu, but you died before the consum- "mation; it was then quite in harmony with the established rules "of life that Cheu should contract another marriage; why then do "you visit Wang's daughter and inflict evil on her? what impudence "is this!' And this severe rebuke finished, she broke a branch "from a peachtree and soundly thrashed the portrait; but ere she "had dealt it many blows, young Cheu appeared outside the gate "running in haste, to sue for mercy. Asked to explain himself, he "said: 'Wang's daughter says, that the fourth of the sisters Chang "has left her body, yelling for pain, and she bade me to go to "her mother and tell it; here I am, to do so'. The daughter of "Wang completely recovered". [1]

乃取一瓮、側臥、以鞭驅約草人入瓮中呦呦有聲、緘之瓮口、朱書符印、封以六一之泥、埋於桑林下、戒家人無動之。其婦卽日差。

經五載劉漢宏兵馬之際人皆逃避。兵人見埋瓮處、謂之藏物遂掘之、打瓮破、見雉突然飛出、立於桑杪。奮迅羽毛作人語曰、被這和尙禁却、今方見日光。時全淸已遷化. *Hwan i chi.*

[1] 常德張太守之女許周氏、年十七以瘵疾亡。周別聘王氏女、年亦十七。甫締姻、尙無婚期、王女忽中惡。以手批頰曰、我張四小姐也、汝何人

The "surrogates" or "substitutes" which the people in Amoy preferably use for this mode of exorcism, are the small *tʿòe sin* of bamboo splint and paper, of which we spoke on page 920, stating that they are also used in sorcery. They are actually objets of daily use, therefore always at hand for sale in the same shops where counterfeit paper money and other articles for the dead and gods are made and sold. The fair sex in particular makes lavish use of them. Whenever any member of the family is ailing or has suffered any ill, or is believed to be under some impending danger, in short, when he is under any sié influences, such a puppet is sent for and passed all over him, while an appropriate spell causes it to absorb the sié; and thereupon it is burned, in order to destroy or dispel the evil. As an instance we may mention the case of any one who has fallen into the water and has been drawn out in time, so that the influences of the water-spectres, which had him in their clutches, have to be removed, and thus a repetition of the accident prevented. Or it may be a case of a child who has tumbled into an open privy-pit for common use in the street. The spell recited while moving the puppet is generally of the following tenor: *kao tsîng chʿing îng, kao āo tsiáh kào lāo lāo lāo; kao tsó nî-nî hó, kao iū tîng hè-siū; hó ūn lâi, pʿái ūn tʿòe*[1]: "This contact (of the substitute) with the front of the body brings purity and prosperity, and the contact with the back gives power to eat (*i. e.* to live) till an old, old, old age; the contact with the left side establishes well-being for years and years, and the contact with the right side bestows longevity; happy fate, come! ill fate, be transferred to the substitute!" The substitute is then burned, preferably near the spot where the accident occurred; and if great carefulness is

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敢奪我郎君。周氏子聞之、告太守。太守夫人治家素嚴、聞之大怒、懸亡女畫像、罵曰、汝與周郎連姻、尚未成親汝死、周郎再娶亦禮之常、何以往害王家女、無恥若是。罵畢折桃枝擊之、未數下、門外周郎奔來求饒。問何故曰、王女口稱張四小姐呼痛去矣、并求替他母親說情、故堉特來。王氏女竟愈. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 23.

[1] 交前清榮、交後食至老老老、交左年年好、交右長歲壽、好運來、歹運替.

observed, a pail of water is fetched to wash the ashes away. Moreover, in the case of a child, the barber is told to shave its head quite clean; and in the case of an adult a small piece of the scalp is laid bare with the razor, to provide an outlet for the sié.

We have already noted elsewhere (Bk I, p. 100), that evil influences emanating from a deceased person whose body is interred on a day which is not declared by the almanac as suited for a burial, are transferred to cockroaches, bugs or other insects, placed in the grave for that purpose. In many such cases, wooden or paper images of men are used instead of such vermin, being, according to many, decidedly more effectual. If in a family there are frequent cases of illness, or prosperity wanes, or pigs and fowls languish, all because, as experts in geomancy and soothsaying declare, the house stands under evil influence or in wrong geomantic conditions, or was built or repaired in an unsuitable time — then it is warmly recommended to make somewhere close by, in a spot carefully calculated by a geomancer or diviner, a pit of a well-chosen depth, and put therein one or more *t'òe sin*; over these the water must be poured with which the members of the family have washed themselves; and the demoniacal influences, by which the family was infected, having thus been transferred to the substitutes, the pit must be filled with earth, after a preventive charm has been put into it. Experts assert, that it is in many cases preferable to use rats or mice as substitutes, or to suspend these animals on the house-wall or anywhere close by.

It stands to reason, that where the belief in the usefulness of substitutes is strong, all kinds of substitutional things may be used with excellent effect. It is *e. g.* an old rescript, occurring as early as the writings of the great Sun Szĕ-moh, that when a child has convulsions in consequence of "collision with extraneous influences" (see p. 695), besides cauterizing it in some places, a ball of flour, made according to a certain method, should be spat upon, and the evil be charmed into it by means of this spell: "I rub the father "of the house, I rub the mother of the family, I rub the child of "this home; extraneous influences which might afflict this child, "follow me! Pien-ts'ioh, the first of physicians, was excellent, but "not so excellent as good spittle"[1]. While these words are being pro-

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[1] 摩家公、摩家母、摩家子、兒若客忤從吾。始扁鵲雖良、不如善唾良.

nounced, the ball is rubbed on the arms and legs of the baby, its breast and its navel, and thrown away on the road. This treatment is, of course, to be repeated again and again, until the patient is better.

Substitutes may do excellent service even for the protection of whole houses. A stone slab, not uncommonly of a large size, on which are carved the characters 石敢當, "the stone dares to bear or withstand", is often seen in China opposite the entrance of a street or alley which opens into another, standing there for the protection of the house which is situated behind it, against the sié or shâh which at all times may emerge from that street or alley, especially if this is long or straight, thus allowing the evil to come out of it unhindered and impetuously. Such a stone is also generally erected by direction of geomancers, in whatever spots dangers are to be averted and dangerous situations corrected. Its power is in some cases considerably enhanced by a spectre-devouring tiger's head or some other exorcising figure, carved upon it. Not uncommonly the characters 泰山, "Mount T'ai", are to the same purpose prefixed to the inscription, this famous peak in Shantung being one of the main divine protectors of this earth; the inscription in this case means, "this rock of Mount T'ai dares to take this upon itself".

The use of these stones may be old. Some scholars whom I consulted connected them readily with a passage in the writing of Mencius, who is stated to have said to a prince, that a man who brandishes his sword with flashing eyes and exclaims 彼惡敢當我哉, "who of those people there dares withstand me?" [1] only shows the valour of an ordinary man; — indeed, those six characters may equally well signify "it is I by whom that evil will be borne". The stones then may represent men brandishing spectre-dispelling swords; and indeed we read of an author by whom the following lines were written: "I conclude that the people in Wu, "who always erect *stone men* where streets and lanes open straight "opposite their houses, or set up there slabs of stone inscribed with "'this stone dares to bear', by way of entrusting to them the execu-"tion of their will to avert evil, have good reasons for so doing" [2].

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1 Section 梁惠王, II.

2 余因吳民廬舍街衢直衝必設石人、或植片石、鐫曰石敢當、以寓厭禳之旨、亦有本也. *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 22 II, l. 152.

There are, however, authors who derive the origin of such stones from another club-brandishing hero, whose name was Shih Kan-tang 石敢當, which exactly corresponds to the inscription on those stones. "According to the *Hien yih*, Kan-tang, whose tribal name "was Shih, was a man who lived during the period of the Five "Dynasties. Liu Chi-yuen, Governor of the head quarters of Kao "Tsu of the house of Tsin (936—943), ordered the brave warrior "Shih Kan-tang to hide an iron club within his sleeve and escort "the said emperor; and while the latter was engaged in an inter- "view with (his brother-in-law) the emperor Min (of the later T^{c}ang "dynasty), Kan-tang sacrificed his life in a fight in which he killed "Min's attendants. Hence those stones, erected by the people "nowadays outside house doors" [1]. That interview took place on the road after Min had been put to flight by a rebellious adoptive brother; it entailed his capture, and the slaughter of between fifty and a hundred of his followers. This incident is related in the New History of the Five Dynasties (ch. 8, l. 2), and in the Old (ch. 45, l. 9); but no Shih Kan-tang is mentioned there.

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[1] 賢奕、敢當姓石、五代時人。劉知遠爲晉祖押衙、遣力士石敢當袖鐵椎侍晉祖、與愍帝議事、敢當鬬死、殺愍帝左右。今人家門外所立之石是也. T S, section 神異, ch. 46.

CHAPTER XVII.

DEMONOLATRY.

As we have demonstrated principally in Chapter XV of Part I of this Book, kwei or spectres may occasionally be favourably disposed towards man, and, when in this condition, exercise a beneficent influence upon his fate, thus actually working as shen or good spirits. There is then sufficient reason to conciliate, appease and propitiate, by worship and sacrifices, the kwei as well as the shen. Demonolatry must be specially natural to the Chinese, seeing that this people has ever been wont to worship and honour the souls of the dead, very many of whom occasionally indulge in vengefulness and mischief. No doubt, besides sacrifices, it always consisted in humble invocations or prayers, which, dictated by fear or self-interest and devoid of piety, were nothing better than polite spells, differing from ordinary exorcising spells in tenor and tune, but not in fundamental meaning.

We have a faint indication of the existence of Demonolatry in the days of Confucius in the saying of this sage, that it is wise to worship the kwei and the shen, all the while keeping them at a distance (see p. 411). At the no processions, celebrated in ancient China for the expulsion of spectres, victims were, as we have seen on page 973, cut into pieces at the city gates. Kao Yiu in the second or third century wrote, "that such dissections of dogs and "sheep served *to suppress evil*, in order that the influence of Wood "(the Element specially affected by the spring) might pervade "everything" [1]. The practice may therefore have been a sacrifice to the spectres just then driven out; yet the possibility is not excluded that it was presented to certain unmentioned shen. A quite positive testimony of the presentation of sacrifices to evil spirits under the Han dynasty is afforded by Wang Ch'ung, who in his refuta-

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[1] 高氏誘曰、磔犬羊以禳、使木氣盡達. Khienlung edition of the *Li ki*, ch. 21, l. 46.

tion of exorcism asserts that it was usual in his days to combine exorcism with sacrifices (see page 935). We may also point here to the following lines in a biography of Lwan Pa [1], Governor of Yü-chang in the second century of our era: "In that dominion "were many apparitions of spectres of hills and streams, and the "common people wasted their possessions in invoking them and "praying to them. Pa, who possessed Taoist magic wherewith to "dominate spectres and spirits, demolished the sacrificial buildings, "and arrested and arraigned the wicked deceivers (of the people); "and the result was that those apparitions disappeared. The people "were at first in great fear, but in the end they were contented." [2]

The reader has found in our work a few instances which suggest that Demonolatry must have been steadily a constituent part of religious life. At the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth, food and drink were sacrificed on several nights by Imperial order to spectres which provoked a great panic among the people (Bk II, p. 477). In 1378, the founder of the Ming dynasty sent a delegate to present in his august name sacrifices to spectres which infested a part of Kiangsi, and to order them kindly to stop their iniquities (page 479); and the same monarch repeated the process nineteen years later, when a spectre-panic was rife in the same region (page 481). To this day, mock-money is burned for spectres in cases of death when the coffin is fetched from the shop (Bk I, page 88), and mock-money is scattered among them during funeral processions. We may then be pretty sure that the people will be always ready to offer paper and eatables to spectres whenever they believe them to infest their homes and premises.

They do so especially when spectres are causing illness. In cases of fever, against which China, for lack of proper medicines, is so helpless, and even totally desperate should it be intermittent, sacrifices are offered according to certain methods, a knowledge of which is conveyed by cheap handbooks in various editions, compilations from which illiterate men and women may derive some elementary schooling, beside useful hints on matters of religion, divination,

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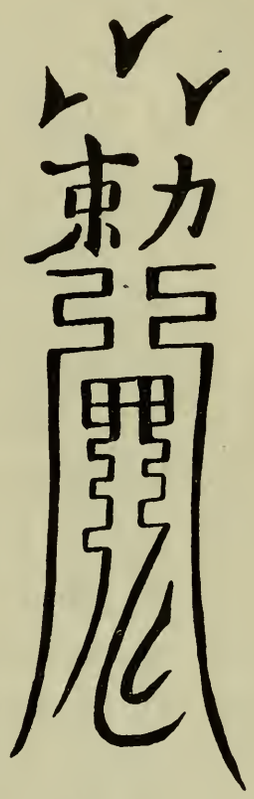
[1] 欒巴.

[2] 郡土多山川鬼怪、小人常破貲產以祈禱。巴素有道術、能役鬼神、乃悉毀壞祀房、翦理姦誣、於是祆異自消。百姓始頗爲懼、終皆安之. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 87, l. 3.

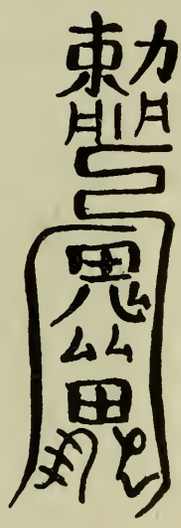
exorcism, etc. Fuhkien editions give a series of thirty prescriptions, each for one and the same day in every month. Every prescription states, that if on the day for which it is written any one catches fever combined with head-ache, vomiting, diarrhœa, debility, loss of appetite, or other such symptoms; or if he cries and talks incessantly and incoherently; or if a baby, apart from such complaints, should labour under convulsions, it is certain that a spirit of a stated class or kind, having been offended and irritated, is the cause of it, or has sent a spectre to cause the illness. Hence, the prescription goes on to say, that spirit should be conciliated by means of some mock-money, which is to be burned at the door, or at so many paces from the house, or in such and such a direction; on some days it is even necessary to set down in the same spot some cooked rice, with spirituous liquor and even three sorts of meat. Together with the mock-money a paper "substitute" (see p. 1103) must be burned, as also a charm on yellow paper, a model for which is attached to each prescription; this charm must be inscribed with the name of the god who rules the day to which the prescription applies, which name is to this end carefully stated in the latter. Finally, as an integral part of the cure, the patient should wear on his body the powerful universal charm depicted in Fig. 16.

Fig. 16.



Universal charm.

Fig. 17.



It is self-evident that the "substitute" must have been laid on the patient beforehand, and rubbed and passed over him while a spell was pronounced, so that the influences of the spectre were absorbed by it, and its annihilation by fire may dispel or destroy them (cf. page 1103). It is clear also that the charm which is burned expresses an explicit order of the god who rules that day, for the destruction of the spectre. As a month has twenty-nine or thirty days, there are thirty charms; all bear the character 勅 or "order" (see p. 1035) above some combinations of lines or strokes denoting in the main destruction of spectres. Fig. 17 is one of the series.

The malignant spirits which are mentioned in the thirty pre-

scriptions, form a curious list which is apparently a tissue of arbitrary inventions. This explains also the fact that in the various editions the names are differently distributed over the prescriptions, and some editions give names not mentioned in the others. We have found principally the following:

1. 土地家神, domestic shen of the earth or the ground.
2. 遊街土地神, shen of the earth which wander in the streets.
3. 土地拐娘, staff-bearing ladies of the earth or the ground.
4. 地煞, murderous influences of the earth.
5. 走馬天罡, celestial star-spirits on galopping horses (Bk I, p. 244).
6. 樹神, shen of wood or vegetation.
7. 金神, shen of metal.
8. 火神, shen of fire.
9. 水神, shen of water.
10. 洛水神, shen of the Loh river.
11. 井神, shen of wells.
12. 無主家神, family-spirits upon whom nobody bestows care.
13. 家親鬼, kwei of family-relations by blood.
14. 男子少亡, boys who died young.
15. 枉死女鬼, kwei of women unjustly killed.
16. 久年未葬之鬼, kwei of persons unburied for many years.
17. 老婆鬼, kwei of old women.
18 家神引鬼, kwei led on by a family-spirit.
19. 鬼兵, spectral soldiers.
20. 遊戲夫人, ladies who roam about at theatricals.
21. 遊行妳母, wandering wet nurses.
22. 遊宮妳母, wet nurses for the palace.
23. 發熱婆姐, matrons who arouse burning fevers.
24. 吐瀉婆姐, matrons of cholera.
25. 火燒婆姐, matrons of conflagrations.
26. 行珠婆姐, moving pearls matrons(?)
27. 無氣婆姐, breathless matrons.

28. 青京婆姐, matrons of the blue capital.
29. 石榴鬼, pomegranate kwei.
30. 黃頭鬼, yellow-headed kwei.

It is evident from this list that, as well as kwei, many members of the class of shen are prone to encroach upon human felicity, so that we have here a proof of the faintness of the line of demarcation between spectres and gods. We cannot feel surprised to find in the list the spectres of disease which are assimilated with the five Elements (see pp. 707 *sqq*), and among them the irritable, dangerous demons of the soil or earth (pp. 536 *sqq*). In Amoy, mothers as a rule readily believe their children, who are ailing or cry inordinately, to be under the influence of such earth-spirits, and therefore lose no time in promising sacrifices to the same, to be offered on the second and sixteenth days of every month, either for a stipulated time, or until the children are restored to health. Such conciliation was in fashion in the first century of our era, for we read in Wang Ch'ung's writings, "when "among the people a house or dwelling is repaired, or the earth "is dug up, then, on the works being finished, they reconcile the "spirits of the soil and sue for pardon, calling this 'reconciliation "of the earth'. They make dolls of clay representing spectres, and "order a wu-chuh to entertain the same and conciliate in this "way the spirits of the soil; and when this sacrifice is finished, "they feel relieved and merry, saying that now, as the spirits are "reconciled and pardon has been sued for, misfortune is averted".[1]

The importance attached in early Chinese times to sacrifices to spirits of the ground is evidenced by the following curious notice, relating to the emperor Ming[2] of the Sung dynasty, who lived from A. D. 439 to 472. "In the last year of his reign he gave "so much heed to spectres and gods, that he avoided many terms "in speaking and writing. Expressions which denoted misfortune, "ruin or mourning, or which merely seemed to do so and were "therefore better avoided, were several hundreds and thousands in "number, and persons who sinned by using them might be sure

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[1] 世間繕治宅舍、鑿地掘土、功成作畢解謝土神、名曰解土。爲土偶人以像鬼形、令巫祝延以解土神、已祭之後心快意喜、謂鬼神解謝、殃禍除去. *Lun heng*, ch. 25, 解除篇.

[2] 明.

"to incur punishment and even the penalty of death. The compo-
"nent on the side of 騩 was changed into 爪, because that
"character resembled 禍, misfortune. The Süen-yang gate was
"generally called among the people the White gate, but as the
"emperor considered this term to be infelicitous [1], it was strictly
"tabooed. His Chancellor Kiang Mih once by mistake violated this
"taboo; the emperor changed colour and exclaimed 'You shall
"now whitewash the gate of your own house'; and though Kiang
"Mih, his forehead on the ground, sued for pardon, a long time
"elapsed before the punishment was remitted. Within and without
"the capital everybody lived in constant fear of coming into collision
"(with something tabooed), and nobody felt himself safe. Within
"the Palace the taboo was severer than anywhere else; no couch
"or bed might be shifted there from its place, no wall attended
"to, without a sacrifice being offered previously to the spirits
"of the earth, for which ceremony scholars had to compose sacri-
"ficial prayers just as at official sacrifices of the highest class". [2]

It is especially the members of the fair sex who, on behalf of themselves, their children, and other relations, practice the demonolatrous medical method which we have described. Untaught, as they generally are, they cannot decipher the thirty prescriptions; but merely going to the paper money shop, they will find the shopkeeper there ready at any moment to open the handbook and read for them the prescription of the day, and then sell to them the prescribed quantity of paper money with the 'substitute'. Returning home, the woman offers a burning incense-stick to her house-gods, informs them of the case, and invokes their aid; and having rubbed or passed the substitute over the patient, she goes out to execute the

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1 No doubt because white denotes the west or the region of setting sunlight, as also autumn, the season of dying nature.

2 末年好鬼神、多忌諱言語文書。有禍敗凶喪及疑似之言應回避者數百千品、有犯必加辠戮。改騩邊爲爪亦以騩字似禍字故也。宣陽門民間謂之白門、上以白門之名不祥、甚諱之。尚書右丞江謐嘗誤犯、上變色曰、白汝家門、謐稽顙謝、久之方釋。內外常慮犯觸、人不自保。宮內禁忌尤甚、移牀治壁必先祭土神、使文士爲文詞祝策如大祭饗. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 8, l. 19.

prescription. On the spot assigned by the latter, she sets down the sacrificial articles, and with incense-sticks in her hands prays the spectre to accept the paper and food and no longer molest the patient; and in many cases she adds the promise to offer it a further amount after his restoration to health. Should no recovery follow, it is evident that the spectre is an unruly being, disobedient to the Tao or course of Time which is so neatly expressed by the thirty days for which the prescriptions are assigned; and it becomes then necessary that the shen who rules the day in question, be prevailed upon to compel that being to obedience or catch it. This is easily done by means of a good magical charm, bought from a priest, and burned while going through the whole ceremony a second time.

In some handbooks I have found this demonolatrous medical treatment in a more elaborate form, in so far that there are given sixty prescriptions, each of which is assigned for one day in every sexagenary cycle of days, and that the number of disease-spirits is increased in proportion. The method bears a Taoist character, being adapted to the course of Time, which actually is the Tao or course of the Universe. Its invention is generally ascribed to Chang Tao-ling, whose portrait, in fact, the publishers of the handbooks are wont to depict at the head of the series of prescriptions. The connection of that illustrious Taoist name with the method may, however, be a pious fraud. Yet it seems to be quite true that the cure of patients by sacrificing to demons which make them ill is as old as the T'ang dynasty, as otherwise the following narrative would certainly not be found in a book of that epoch:

"In the first year of the T'ai hwo period of the T'ang dynasty "(A.D. 827), the Board-chancellor Poh Hing-kien was very drunk, "and dreamt that two men took him through the Ch'un-ming "gate to a new grave; and then, as the morning dawned, they "returned home, and by the city gate came to a shop where steamed "cakes and pastry were made. He had a very good appetite, and "was just saying so to his two companions, when the shopkeeper's "wife appeared with a baby in her arms. The two men gave "him a small pellet of clay, telling him to throw it at the baby; "he did so, and the baby was seized with fright and began to cry "most bitterly and pitifully. 'My child is struck by evil', the "shopwoman said, and she sent somebody for a female wu. This "priestess burned incense, strummed her lute, called her spirit, and "said: 'Nothing is the matter, except that some small wang-liang "have injured it; the baby has encountered three persons, one

"of whom is the soul of a living man [1] in search of wine and food; "if you want them to do no harm, you must forthwith make some "pastry, fetch liquor, and set it out hereabouts'. The wu then "made some polite bows and invited those beings; the two men "with Hing-kien were seated, and when they had eaten their fill "and rose, the baby was as calm as before. When Hing-kien awoke, "he was so horrified that after ten days he died". [2]

Since the line of demarcation between shen and kwei is so faint in China, Demonolatry may be said to embrace there also the invocation and sacrificial worship of hundreds, nay thousands of images standing in temples as servants and retainers, underlings and lictors of the gods and goddesses to whom those buildings are dedicated. They are particularly numerous in the temples of Walls and Moats and in those of the Eastern Mountain, where, as we have seen on page 906, they are also often, by means of sacrifice, bribed by victims of wrong to inflict injury.

Moreover, since the world of spectres is composed to a large extent of souls of the dead, Demonolatry also is congruent with the widespread custom of feeding and conciliating enormous hosts of ghosts which, having no descendants of their own to take care of them, prowl about hungry, cold and destitute, and therefore are very apt to become dangerous food-extorting spectres such as those to which we have devoted some attention on pp. 794 *sqq*. Festive sacrifices are celebrated on behalf of these orphan souls, and even have a place in the State Religion.

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1 Note that, while dreaming, Poh Hing-kien's soul was outside his body.

2 唐郎中白行簡太和初因大醉、夢二人引出春明門至一新塚、間天將曉而回、至城門店有鬻餅餺飥者。行簡餒甚、方告二使者、次忽見店婦抱嬰兒。使者便持一小土塊與行簡、令擊小兒、行簡如其言擲之、小兒便驚啼悶絕。店婦曰、獦兒中惡、令人召得一女巫至。焚香、彈琵琶、召請曰、無他故小魍魎爲患耳、却三人、一是生魂求酒食耳、不爲祟、可速作餺飥取酒、逡巡陳設。巫者拜謁、二人與行簡就坐、食飽而起、小兒復如故。行簡既寤甚惡之、後逾旬而卒. *Ling i ki*, 靈異記, Strange Cases of Spiritual Power, a work unknown to me quoted in K K, ch. 283.

The prevalence of Demonolatry is evidenced also by the fact that fabulists of modern times often mention it. Sui Yuen tells of a spectre in Hang-cheu, which from the top of a honorary gate, where it nestled, used to tickle the heads of passers-by with a long string of paper money, with the result that, on coming home, they were laid up with illness and had to be cured by means of prayers, and by sacrifices presented in the open field. Thus that spectre could often joyfully drink and eat its fill. One day, a man who passed underneath with a string of copper coins across his shoulder, was thus touched; the contact caused the spectre's string of paper money to catch fire and burn up without the man perceiving it, and the spectre tumbled down from its high seat and, converted into black vapour, disappeared for ever [1].

The same author asserts, that Demonolatry is much indulged in in Kwangsi province to avert the spirit of a devilish beau which causes female hysterics. "In the villages of the Nan-ning department "in Kwangsi they are wont to worship the spirit of Vice-President "Six. This being inflicts evil on all who speak of it or come into "collision with it. It makes a speciality of bewitching girls, the "beauties among whom are often possessed by it. Those whom it "molests sacrifice a parcel of paper money to it at noon or at night, "and a dish of rice, while two or three musicians play; in this "way it is dismissed into the open, so that it departs and goes "elsewhere. No evening passes without people thus dismissing that "Vice-President Six" [2]. After these preliminary statements, Sui Yuen tells a story of a maid who was visited by the bewitching beau in her bedroom; he would not even leave this place to partake of the food sacrificed to him by her parents. Some time after, another Vice-President Six entered the room, and began with the first one so lively a quarrel for the lady that the presentation of another sacrifice was necessary to pacify him too. The spectral Don Juan is, according to prevailing opinion, one Chang Ch'ang-tsung [3],

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1 *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 8.

2 廣西南寧鄉里祀六郎神。人或語言觸犯則爲祟。又善媚女子、美者多爲所憑。凡受其害者以紙鏹一束飯一盂、用兩三樂人、午夜祀之、送至曠野、郎去而之他。其俗無夕不送六郎也. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 19.

3 張昌宗

a favourite of the empress Wu of the T'ang dynasty, who endowed him with the high dignity of Vice-President of a Board [1] and invested him with the vassalage of Yeh [2]. His father Chang Hing-ch'ing [3] was a reputed Minister of State, and many of his brothers, among whom he was the sixth, were in high favour with the empress. With a great number of other grandees he was slain and beheaded at the court revolution of A.D. 705, by which Wu lost her throne and Chung Tsung [4] ascended it. [5]

If spectres are sacrificed to and worshipped on a large scale, they actually are placed on a par with shen or gods. They may even be formally promoted to divine rank, for any spirit may be invested by higher gods and, in the highest instance, by the God of Heaven with a post or function in the administration of the Universe. A case of such promotion, conveyed to the knowledge of mankind by means of dreams, we have seen mentioned by an author on page 527.

No doubt the number of demons worshipped as gods is large in China. A noteworthy instance are the so-called Wu T'ung [6] or Five Intelligences, ranked (see page 512) by Li Shi-chen with the mountain-spectres. They are also known as the Wu T'ung shen [7], Five Intelligent Gods, or the Wu T'ung sien [8], Five Intelligent Immortals, and as the Wu Shing [9], the Five Saints. Their worship prevails in particular in Kiangsu, Chehkiang and Fuhkien, where their images receive worship and sacrifice in many temples of other gods, or in special chapels and shrines erected for them. Not seldom such an image has that of a consort at its right side. Those gods not infrequently misconduct themselves like sly animal-demons, for they are prone to intrude into human dwellings in the shape of seductive young men, in order to entice female beauties into sexual liberties. They are so powerful that the inmates have not the courage to fight and exorcise them; yet there are tales of their having been shot with arrows, and leaving on the spot a dead ass or pig. They appear with beautiful youths or pages in their suites. Like mountain-spectres, they steal things from houses which they visit, and commit arson and other mischief.

Their worship is mentioned in books of the Sung dynasty, but its origin is clouded in mystery. It has been sought, but perhaps

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1 侍郎. 2 鄴, in the present Honan. 3 張行成. 4 中宗.
5 Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 78, ll. 14 *seq.* New Books, ch. 104, ll. 12 *seq.*
6 五通. 7 五通神. 8 五通仙. 9 五聖.

without good reasons, in the five or six intelligences which Buddhism ascribes to saints who are advanced as far as the gates of Nirvāṇa. Sui Yuen devotes the following tale to them, from which we may learn something of their worship:

"The son of one Ch'en Yao-fen of Kiang-ning (Nanking) was a "naughty fellow. Taking a stroll to the buddhist P'u-tsi monastery, "he saw that the seats of the Five Intelligent Gods, worshipped "in that building, were placed above that of Kwan-ti. Irritated at "this lack of politeness with regard to the latter, he called the "monks, rebuked them, and bade them place the Intelligences "in the inferior position; and the visitors and witnesses unanimously "declared that he was right. Ch'en, proud and satisfied of what "he had done, came home that evening, and found the five spirits "standing at his door. They threw him to the ground and "wildly cried: 'We the Five Intelligences are high kings who "enjoyed among men bloody food for a long time, and now our "fate has taken so bad a turn. We have been in collision with "Lao-t'ang, the provincial Governor of Kiangsu, and with Siao-yin, "the Governor General of the two Kiang, who have punished us "and driven us away (by destroying our temples and images); but "these two were men of high position, and besides they were "ching, so that we could not help tolerating it; but you, a com- "mon fellow, presume to behave as if you too were a powerful "child of fortune; we cannot pardon this!' Yao-fen's family prostrat- "ed themselves around the spot, prepared a sacrifice of three kinds "of meat and paper money, and engaged Buddhist priests to pray "and sacrifice; but nothing could save him; he expired".[1]

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[1] 江寧陳瑤芬之子某素不良。遊普濟寺見寺供五通神坐關帝之上。怒其無禮、呼僧責之、命移五通於關帝之下、遊人觀者俱以爲是。陳傲然自得、夕歸、見五通神當門而立。遂仆地狂叫曰、吾五通大王也、享人間血食久矣、偶然運氣不好。撞著江蘇巡撫老湯、兩江總督小尹將我誅逐、他兩個都是貴人又是正人、我無可奈何只得甘受、汝乃市井小人敢作威福、我不能饒汝矣。其家環拜、具三牲紙錁、延僧禱祀、竟不能救而死. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 8.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MISCELLANEOUS PRACTICES AGAINST SPECTRAL EVIL.

Our exposition of the Chinese system of Exorcising Magic has pointed out that this system is erected on the principle that innumerable legions of spectres, prone to evil, live in the machine of the World, and that their existence is even an universal law, those legions being the Yin itself, which is one of the two great powers of which the Tao or Order of the World consists. This premise necessarily leads to the conclusion that spectres are naturally frustrated or destroyed by the other power, the Yang, and its constituent or shen. But this great standard dogma affords no key to the explanation of exorcism of all sorts which Chinese intellect has invented, people having always been guided also by childish wit, rarely or never asking for reason or logic, and consequently led into charlatanism transmitted from age to age, even by books, and revealing little more or little better than gross credulity, from the web of which even the educated class has never extricated itself.

This is equivalent to saying, that there is within the domain of Exorcising Magic much, very much, which defies explanation. How, for instance, to account for the fact that, according to the narrative quoted on page 784 and the customs mentioned in Book I on pp. 107 *seq.* and page 643, salt is devil-expelling? The wu-ist priesthood, as we shall see in Part V, for this reason use it very often, mostly in a mixture with rice. A great healing power, too, is ascribed to salt, so that it enters into the composition of a great many medical prescriptions, some of which we find especially designed for so-called spectre-blows, strokes with evil, corpse-disease, and other complaints ascribed to evil spirits.

It seems impossible also to explain why, as we have read on page 443, the presence of a bluish or grey cow may cure patients who are harrassed by violent nightmare, or raving and unconscious

under the influence of possession. This idea may have connection with a prescription of Koh Hung to this effect: "In cases of sudden "nightmare, when the sufferer does not awake, take the hoof of a "cow or a horse, and let it pass downward over him. Sudden death "(unconsciousness) may also be cured in this way. A grey cow (or "its hoof?) is especially efficacious". [1]

And the question why a man, when out in the dark, should ward off spectres by grasping his own hand with the other, or, in order to kill them, should grind his teeth, we must likewise leave in its own obscurity. Nor can we guess why spectres can be caught by burning an owl of a certain species. "The cat's head hawk is "a kind of hawk with a head like that of a cat. Its flesh is very "greasy; if it is burned, spectres will come near, and therefore "magicians use it to catch spectres" [2]. Thus wrote a notable author in the sixteenth century in a large cyclopædia of considerable renown.

No doubt the list of unexplainable exorcising expedients may be drawn out to a very great length. A long list certainly might be made also of exorcising practices and things the explanation of which is easy. That old bronzes, and probably also other things of great age and value, are generally appreciated as devil-expelling, is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the circumstance that they have been in the possession of ancestors, and therefore are imbued with their shen (cf. p. 1004). And that devils which cause drought may be rendered harmless by smothering them in dung-pits or privies (pp. 511 and 518) seems so natural that explanation is not wanted. Quite natural also is the custom of destroying the corpses of persons who are suspected to be such devils (p. 520), since we know that souls of the dead owe their strength in particular to the bodies in which they have dwelt, as also to the graves in which those bodies rest. Hence, of course, the practice of laying vampires or corpse-spectres by burning their material remains; hence, finally, the historical instances of people who destroyed corpses in order to rid themselves of apparitions (cf. p. 449). This method has even been applied to the carcasses of buried animals suspected of visiting men in the guise of spectres (p. 622).

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[1] 卒魘寐不寤以牛蹄或馬蹄臨魘人上。亦可治卒死。青牛尤佳. *Cheu heu pi kih fang*, ch. 1, § 5.

[2] 猫頭鷹卽鷹類、其頭似猫。其肉甚肥、燒之則鬼至、術士以之收鬼. *San tsʿai tʿu hwui.*

Since spectres can be frightened, it is a natural and common practice to cure sick people by alarming their indwelling demon. In many an apothecary's shop in Amoy I have seen a flat box with a glass cover, containing a large dried lizard, fastened to the bottom, or a flying tree-lizard with outspread wings, to be hired by customers who want to cure sufferers from fever or other complaints, or women in difficult confinement, by suddenly holding up the box with the monster before their staring eyes. Some families possess such boxes for the use of themselves and their friends. Big lizards and flying lizards being scarce in that part of China or perhaps not living there at all, the boxes are imported from the Philippines, Indo-China, and other southern countries. In connection with this custom, we may quote the following lines from a book of the eleventh century: "In Kwan-chung (now Si-ngan, the capital of "Shensi) are no crabs. In the Yuen fung period (A.D. 1078—1086) "I was in Shensi, and was told that some one in Ts'in-cheu had "got a dried crab, which startled the country people because it "looked so monstrous. Whenever any member of a family was seized "with fever, the crab was borrowed and hung above the door, "whereupon the patient sometimes recovered. The inference is that "that animal was not only unknown to men, but also to spectres". [1]

The brains of geomancers are prolific in exorcising charlatanism. They, like specialists in general, seek cures for human woe preferably within the sphere of their own specialty, and consequently they are always busy removing bad influences from dwellings by correcting their Fung-shui. We have already stated (p. 1057) that they use to this end powerful charms, written or painted; but their activity is by no means confined to this. Should for instance a mandarin be overburdened with useless work because of an excess of false accusations lodged by the people, or should he be distressed at the slowness of his promotion, or by sickness in his family, then undoubtedly there are revengeful souls at work, belonging to men who in former days were tortured, condemned and punished unjustly in that tribunal. To correct this evil, some spirits, distilled from rice, must be mixed with a prescribed quantity of earth from

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[1] 關中無螃蜞。元豐中予在陝西、聞秦州人家收得一乾蟹、土人怖其形狀、以爲怪物、每人家有病瘧者借去掛門戶上、往往遂差。不但人不識、鬼亦不識也. *Mung khi pih t'an*, ch. 25.

underneath the tribunal and its gate, and this mud be smeared on the walls of the main hall of the Yamen; and the remainder must be sprinkled about in the other apartments. And from a block of granite of a hundred pounds weight four corners must be chipped, and the pieces buried at the four sides of the building towards the cardinal points; and an ounce of a tiger's bone and cinnamon must be buried with certain other ingredients under the seat of the mandarin; and a mace of cloves, yellow incense and other things must be burned, and water mixed with the ashes sprinkled abroad. Temples too may be protected by similar expedients if they are exposed to evil influences or so-called arrows, shot from roads or paths which lead to them.

It is, as our readers know, the Tao or Order of the Universe which affords immunity from evil. That Order is the Course of Time; and as Time is represented by the sexagenary cycle which is used by man for counting the years, months, days, and hours, it actually is these characters which bestow such immunity. Strong therefore against all attacks of spectral beings stands the man whose birth, or entry into the Course of the Universe, occurred in a year, day, month and hour which stood under the beneficent influence of the Universe, that is, according to the Chinese, which were denominated by four double cyclical characters which were particularly influenced by the Yang, so that they were "heavy". Such a felicitous horoscope, as we have explained on page 919, is the best safeguard also against spectres of sorcery. A life of virtue in accordance with the Tao tends, of course, to improve and strengthen the horoscope, while a vicious life is sure to weaken and spoil it. Men and women of a frail constitution, nervous, timid, liable to visions of spectres and strange or monstrous beings, are sure to possess a "light" horoscope, as every doctor, every soothsayer, and even every intelligent man will forthwith tell; and so are persons who are frequently ill, sufferers from incurable complaints, and whatever diseases are especially ascribed to spectres.

Since thus his horoscope actually constitutes any individual's natural fate, being a part of the immutable course of Universal Order, it can by no means be amended if it is "light". But much harm can be averted from such an unfortunate by surrounding him with exorcising objects, by giving him proper amulets to wear and proper medicines to swallow; and especially by a more than ordinary care in the selection of auspicious days and hours for the performance of all his acts of importance. He has, in other terms,

more than any one else to consult and to pay the numerous class of physicians, exorcists, professors of chronomancy etc. who devote their lives and intellects to the protection and improvement of human fate.

Children and babies which are saddled by the Tao with an unlucky horoscope, and consequently are weak or constantly ailing, may be protected from worse, and even be cured, in yet another way. Either of their own initiative, or after sage advice from members of the family or physicians and soothsayers, the parents will waste no time in looking out for an opportunity to transfer the child to a family which lives in a high state of felicity under the strong protective hand of its household gods and ancestors; for in that sphere of blessing their darling is sure to thrive, also because the spectres, seeing it in the possession of people against whom they bear no grudge, have no longer any reason for molesting it. The matter having been properly agreed to on both sides, the child is taken to the house of the pseudo adoptive parents, or carried in the arms, should it be too young or too weak to walk. There, before the domestic altar on the table of which some sacrificial dainties and a few cups of tea have been placed, it pays homage to the household gods by kneeling down before their images and knocking its head on the ground a few times, or, if still in arms, it is moved as if bowing reverently, and made to join its hands. After this it repeats the same ceremony before the ancestral tablets. Thus having humbly put itself under the protection and authority of those divinities, it places itself in the same reverential way under the guardianship and tutelage of its new parents. The finishing touch is given to the matter by a festive meal, the ingredients for which have been delivered by the real parents.

In most cases the child is now stealthily carried back to its old home. Henceforth at every new moon and full moon the patronizing parents send the child some food, to show the spectres that their parentage is reality; and to the same end the child will for its whole life repair to their home on their birthdays, to congratulate them reverently with prostrations and offer them some presents, as if they were the real authors of its beings.

Should this adoption not have the effect expected, the parents will try in the same way another family, even repeating the measure several times. Thus it is that many a person in China has quite a number of guardian-parents. On the other hand, many parents are the patrons of more than one child. In Amoy they are

called *khòe pē-bú* [1], "tutelar parents", and such children *khòe kiáng* [2], "children in tutelage". But even repeated adoptions may prove a failure. In this case, the parents will have recourse to fosterage, that is to say, they will actually give the child away for a time, and even for good, even with payment of money for its sustenance.

This radical measure is seldom resorted to unless every other of a simpler nature has been tried in vain. Much good effect is as a rule expected in Amoy from dedication of the child to some divinity whose image is worshipped in a temple or Buddhist convent, preferably to Buddha, or, much oftener still, to Kwanyin or Avalokitêçvara, the goddess of Mercy, most popular among mothers as protectress of children. It is the mother or the father, or both together, who one fine day perform the dedication. This consists in a sacrificial offering, connected with an invocation to the effect that his godship will kindly allow the child to live in a flourishing condition under his protective hand; and it is followed by a vow that their child will henceforth, up to a certain age, sacrifice on the same spot on fixed annual dates or even as long as life is granted to it, and that it will, moreover, take a leading part in the celebration of his festivals, and in defraying the cost of such. From this moment the child is deemed to be a *khòe kiáng* of the deity. Should this protectorate after a time not answer expectations, the vow is renewed, and even renewed over and over again, each time sacrificial articles in greater number or of higher value being promised. Or the child is dedicated to other temple-gods who likewise are reputed as possessors of much ling or divine power.

And yet it is a sad truth that restoration to health may even then be delayed. This being the case, a new thorough study of the horoscope may soon lead a soothsayer or physician to the discovery that the child has a *chᵉut ke é miāng* [3] or "destiny to leave its home", that is to say, that it must become a Buddhist monk, or if of the other sex, a nun. It is also frequently the case that such a revelation is received by mouth of a medium whose body has been taken possession of by a god, or that it is written down by him with a rod in sand or bran in the way which we shall describe

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1 契父母. *Khòe* seems to mean temporary ownership, lease, tenancy or mortgage, obliging the holder of the property to keep the property in the best possible state.

2 契囝. 3 出家之命.

in Part V; or it may be evolved in the brain of some nun who enjoys the mother's confidence and friendship. The vow now pledged before Buddha or Kwanyin is to the effect that the child will forthwith devote itself to the life of holiness in the Church of which they are the high patron saints. The spectres, thus intimidated more than ever, cannot help keeping a respectful distance now. The child's head is shaved totally bald like that of a real monk or nun, and it is made to wear the grey gown which is the everyday clerical attire, so that it always appears quite a monk or nun in miniature.

This vow seems to imply a promise that the child will at the proper time be delivered to the priesthood, in order to be adopted and educated for the clerical profession by one of its members. But this point is never thought of. No punishment can be incurred for that, for how could a merciful Buddha and Kwanyin possibly conceive a grudge against the man who simply pledged his vow for the sake of thwarting spectres by means of godly power, which indeed exists in the Universal System for no other purpose but to be wisely taken advantage of? Besides, deities are very busy and therefore liable to forget vows which are pledged to them and, from their point of view, are of no great value. Prudent parents, however, prefer to make quite sure, and therefore will clearly state in their vow that the boy will be a priest till his sixteenth year, this age being the limit beyond which, according to the laws of the empire, nobody may embrace the ecclesiastical state. When then he has reached his sixteenth year, his parents repair with him to the image of the saint, to inform it that the vow has elapsed. Thankfully they set out a sacrifice before it, which the son presents by making prostrations and knocking his forehead against the ground; and in conclusion he lays aside the clerical dress, and henceforth allows his hair to grow like that of every layman.

CHAPTER XIX.

USE AND DISUSE OF NAMES.

On page 165 we have translated a tale, professedly handed down from the Han dynasty, which tells of a famous were-tiger who turned tail and ran off whenever his name was pronounced. We have also, on pp. 180 and 568, mentioned a man-tiger and a were-wolf of a later time, driven away by the same expedient. And on pp. 501 and 601 we have seen that Koh Hung in the fourth century of our era implicitly recommended to travellers the pronunciation of the names of hill-spectres as a sovereign protection against their attacks and tricks, and, moreover, taught how to discover from the pseudonyms under which those spectres were prone to conceal themselves, to which species of animals of the duodecimal cycle they belonged, and that this knowledge might afford protection against them. But this celebrated Taoist did more useful work in this direction. "The next thing of importance", he wrote, "is writings about spectres. Should you know the names of "the spectres which live under the sky, and the *Poh tseh t'u* and "the *Kiu ting ki*, then the spectral hordes will all retire spontane- "ously." [1] And felicity being the natural consequence of removal of evil, he declared: "If you see a messenger on the land or the water, "his name is Szĕ-kih; by calling aloud this name, felicity is pro- "duced. And if you perceive on the land a large snake wearing "a crown or cap, its name is Shing-hiang; call this aloud, and "happiness will be the result." [2]

We thus learn that there existed in Koh Hung's time writings

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[1] 知天下鬼之名字及白澤圖九鼎記、則衆鬼自卻. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, sect. 17, 登涉.

[2] 山水之間見使人者、名曰四激、呼之名卽吉。山中見大蛇著冠幘者、名曰升鄉、呼之卽吉. *Op et loc. cit.*

which acquainted man with spectres and their names, with the object of affording protection from those beings. About the *Poh tseh tʿu* we have said a few words on page 510. The *Kiu ting ki* or Description of the Nine Tripods apparently likewise was a book on spectres, for we read in the *Tso chʿwen* that "Wang Sun-"man [1], being sent with presents to the prince of Chʿu, was asked "by him about the size and weight of the tripods, and replied: "'Anciently, when the Hia dynasty was in the possession of virtue, "the far-away countries made pictures of beings and sent metal as "tribute, and the nine Governors cast tripods of that metal with por-"traits of those beings thereon. The hundreds of beings being completely "depicted in this way, the people were acquainted with the shen "and with evil beings; consequently, when they moved among "the rivers and meres, hills and forests, they did not fall in with "any injurious things; no chʿi, no mei, no wang-liang what-"ever could light on them" [1]. That *Kiu ting ki* may be perhaps the *Hia ting chi* or Record of the Tripods of the Hia Dynasty, from which we have made a second hand quotation, also bearing upon spectres, on page 521; but we cannot warrant this.

There is no mystery surrounding the source from which the authors of such writings derived their acquaintance with the names of spectres: they simply drew them from their own imagination or from that of others, or from tradition and hearsay, or from revelations imparted by dreams or in other ways by spirits and gods. The fact then is, that the Chinese of ancient times were dominated by the notion that beings are intimately associated with their names, so that a man's knowledge of the name of a spectre might enable him to exert power over the latter and bend it to his will. It is thus clear why we read in Kwan Chung's writings, reputed to be over two thousand years old, that by calling their names, certain khing-ki, man-shaped water-spectres, could be employed as messengers of extreme swiftness, or as catchers of fish and turtles (see page 522).

In fact then a name and its owner are identical; it represents his

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[1] 王孫滿勞楚子、楚子問鼎之大小輕重焉、對曰、昔夏之方有德也、遠方圖物貢金、九牧鑄鼎象物。百物而爲之備、使民知神姦、故民入川澤山林不逢不若、魑魅罔兩莫能逢之. The third year of Süen's reign, or 606 B.C.

body, his life, soul and energy, just as well as his image and his horoscope do, considering the extreme consequence, sketched by us on pp. 339 *sqq.*, to which such assimilation leads and of which black art is the principal (cf page 921). We may here recall the fact that the name of a dead man, inscribed on his ancestral tablet or on his tombstone, actually represents his soul (cf. Bk I, p. 1104), so that, if it is effaced from the latter, the grave is no longer inhabited by his soul, but a powerless thing, devoid of shen or ling, useless as an object of worship and sacrifice. Knowing the names of spectres, man may pronounce them in his spells with emphasis and maledictions, and thus enhance the efficacy of the latter; he may to the same end inscribe them in his exorcising charms. Exorcists and priests therefore owe much of their power and influence among the people to their knowledge of the names of spectres; and this knowledge is in many cases the result of their capacity to see spectres.

We know from pp. 1109 *sqq.* that, for many ages, Taoist sages, in order to succour sufferers from fever, have supplied the world with a list of names of fever-producing spectres, each doing its work on a fixed day in every duodecimal or decimal cycle of days. Thanks be to those sages for that unspeakable gift; for ever since man has been able to pronounce every day in his spells and inscribe in his charms an execrable name, in order to bring relief to patients. But, moreover, to this day he may write that name with cinnabar ink on a slip of yellow paper, and paste this successfully on the back of his feverish patient as the latter stands facing the sun; for, since a spectre and its name are identical, that which possesses the patient cannot but settle in the slip, the more readily as the sunshine drives it to the dark side of his body. The only thing which now remains to be done is to burn the paper. This curative method may show no result. But such a case can only prove that there is something wrong with the spectre, that is to say, this must be an intractable character, unruly, disobedient even to the Tao and the exorcising method which is a fruit of it; nay, more than that, it must be a being quite mad and wild, as the delirious or raving condition of the patient proves.

If man may fight and even vanquish spectres by knowing their names, it is evident that, conversely, the world of darkness may injure and murder men by knowing theirs. We have seen on page 667 this conviction expressed in a book of the fourth century so emphatically that it seems superfluous to adduce any more evidence;

no wonder that we have read on page 646 of country-people hiding their names in order to protect themselves from fish-devils. To this day the Chinese assert, that it is by no means rare for people of either sex to hear their names pronounced in the air and to incur a serious disease, and even death, not long after.

It is then clear that the Chinese must feel and manifest an aversion from pronouncing names, especially their own and those of persons whom they are bound to esteem, to respect and to love. But the use of names of some sort cannot possibly be banished from daily life and conversation. It is therefore wise and sage to use as personal names such terms as denote in the ears of the uninitiated spectre-world quite other things, preferably despicable things which are not worth attending to; in other terms, naming men must be overt depreciation, or even scolding. Indeed, spectres will, on hearing such names, believe at once that the bearers are despised by every one, and they will turn their refined maliciousness against persons of more importance.

The Chinese are unanimous in their opinion that such names avert disease and mortality from children, and remarkably reduce the difficulties connected with their fosterage. Babies in particular cannot dispense with them, their strength being so small, their vitality so weak, their bodies so frail and so liable to injury by evil spirits. And, owing to the inherent malignity of these beings, this is especially the case with pet babies, for is it not a striking fact that, if nourished with the utmost concern, stuffed with dainties and anxiously kept in-doors, far from influences of evil abroad, they often fall ill and languish, while others, not at all so carefully nursed, grow and thrive remarkably? It is then no wonder that, in Amoy, the list of names openly borne by all classes is rather a curious one, full of unpleasing and ugly specimens. Here are a few, picked up at random: *Bát sat* [1] or Bedbug; *Bóng ch^{c}ī* [2] or Slovenly reared; *Gōng káo* [3], Stupid dog; *Han tsû* [4], Sweet potatoe, the meanest and cheapest food in that part of China; *Káo sái* [5] or Dog's droppings; *Khiep sì* [6] or Ugly; *M tíh* [7], Will not have you; *Pùn sò* [8], Sweepings; *Ti dziō* [9], Swine-piss; *Soa* [10] or Sand. Such so-called *sió miâ^{ng}* [11] or "inferior names" remain in use among the family and

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1 木虱. 2 莽飼. 3 戇狗. 4 番薯.
5 狗屎. 6 ○勢. 7 罔擇. 8 糞掃.
9 猪尿. 10 沙. 11 小名.

ts good friends till the death of the bearers, so that it is every-day matter to hear grown-up people accost and call by such names as friend or brother Ngat, brother Flea, brother Cat-piss, etc. etc.

It is especially boys that receive such debasing names; indeed girls are not so valuable, on account of the fact that they do not strengthen and perpetuate the family, since, in obedience to the social law of exogamy, they are to go from home to marry in other tribes. And it is weak, unhealthy and only sons in particular who are thus dubbed; many who require no extraordinary attention and care because they grow and thrive well, are exempted from such manifestation of affection. It is much in vogue in Amoy to depreciate darling baby sons by giving them the name *Tsa bó͘*, Female, and to complete the delusion by fixing in one of the lobes of their ears, or in both, a small copper ring, which in a great many cases is never taken out, whatever age the wearer may reach. By no means rare are the names *Khit á*[1], Little beggar, and *Ka tsù*[2], Beggar's wallet, the protective power of which is in many cases enhanced by making their bearers wear somewhere on their clothes a wallet in miniature, or a button received from a beggar, or to tie such a button with a red threat to his pulse. Nor is it rare to find boys, men and greybeards who answer to the name *Hê siūⁿᵍ*[3], Buddhist monk, or even *Lí kó͘*[4], Buddhist nun. The reason is, that those names suggest to spectres that the bearers are not valuable, as else their parents would not allow them to abandon their homes and embrace the clerical state, while, moreover, they make these beings believe the bearers to be under the protection of Buddha and Avalokitêçvara, whose mighty hands cannot be braved (cf. page 1123).

Names expressing the female sect have been borne by male persons in all ages, and even in very ancient times. The prince who ruled the state of Lu from 721 tot 710 before our era and is known in history by the posthumous name Yin[5], bore the name 息姑, the second character of which means a paternal aunt or mother-in-law. — The writings of Mencius[6] mention one 馮婦, a famous tiger-hunter, whose personal name 婦 means Married wife. — Wu-lai, the hazy personage of the twelfth century B. C. whom we have mentioned on page 283 of Bk I, had a grandson, named 女防,[7] the first character of which means a woman. —

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1 乞仔. 2 菱苴. 3 和尙. 4 尼姑.
5 隱. 6 Section 盡心. 7 Historical Records, ch. 5, ll. 3 and 4.

We must, however, state, that the characters by which those names have been transmitted, may merely convey sounds, and no meanings. The Books of the Later Han Dynasty [1] mention an immortal being by the name of 魯女生, in which we see the character 女 or female. In the Books of the Liang Dynasty we find a biography of Ma Sien-pi 馬仙琕, a loyal servant of his prince, "whose per-"sonal name when he was young was 仙婢 Sien-pi or Female slave "of the Immortals; but when grown up, he considered this name "to be unclassical, and substituted in it 玉 for 女" [2].

Li Kiün-sien [3] was a brave military grandee. "In the first year "of the Ching kwan period (A. D. 627) the planet Venus was "repeatedly visible in the daytime. The Astrologer in Chief drew "prognostics from this phenomenon, and found that it predicted "that a female Ruler would shine in glory. Moreover there was a "song abroad, foretelling that there would come a female and warlike "(武 wu) Ruler.

"It then came to pass at a banquet at Court, when the wine had "been served, that the emperor wanted everybody to say what "inferior name he bore. Li Kiün-sien said that his was Wu-niang-"tszĕ (五娘子) or Fifth damsel [4]. The emperor was surprised "and remarked laughingly: 'What sort of damsel would such a "sturdy man as this make!' The fact that the name of the district "where Kiün-sien had exercised government (viz. Wu-lien 武連), "and that where his home was (viz. Wu-ngan 武安) contained "the word wu or 'warlike', was another reason for the emperor to "suspect and fear him. After a little time he was sent away from the "Court and became Governor of Hwa-cheu. Then a Censor brought a "charge against him before the Throne, to the effect that he had, in "company with certain villains, uttered seditious language and was "plotting rebellion; and the emperor ordained his execution. In "the T'ien sheu period (690) his family resorted to the Palace "to complain of the wrong which had been done to him; on which "the empress Wu (武, the Warlike, who had usurped the throne

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1 Chapter 112, II, l. 11.

2 初仙琕幼名仙婢、及長以婢名不典、乃以玉代女、因成琕云. Ch. 17, l. 4. See also the History of the South, ch. 26, l. 21

3 李君羨.

4 Note that this wu or "fifth" has the same sound as "warlike", and that his name therefore sounded like "warlike damsel".

"a few years before), who wished also to exalt herself (by means of "the said prognostications), restored to him his official titles, so "that he could be re-buried with observance of the ceremonial "prescribed by the ritual of the State".[1]

According to the Standard History of the Kin dynasty, a valiant general of this House bore the name of 完顏活女, Hwan-yen Living woman[2]. It would be easy to lengthen this list of instances, but it seems long enough.

History affords many instances of men who bore so-called choh ming[3], "mean names" or "names expressing meanness". Ch'ing[4], the ruler of the state of Tsin[5] who died in 599 B. C., was named 黑臀, Black rump[6]. — His successor King[7], who died in 580, bore the name of 獳, Angry dog or Mad dog[8]; and a person bearing the same name we find mentioned in the record of events for the year 631 B. C.[9] — A prince who played a martial rôle in 580 B. C. was named 黑背, Black back[10]. — 髡頑, Shaved blockhead, was the name of the crown-prince of the state of Ching[11] who died in 565 B. C.[12], and was also borne by a prince

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1 先是貞觀初太白數晝見。太史占曰、女主昌。又謠言當有女武王者。

會內宴爲酒、令各言小字。君羨自陳曰五娘子。帝愕然因笑曰、何物女子乃此健邪。又君羨官邑屬縣皆武也忌之。未幾出爲華州刺史。會御史劾奏君羨與狂人爲妖言、謀不軌、下詔誅之。天授中家屬詣闕訴寃、武后亦欲自詫、詔復其官爵、以禮改葬. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 94, l. 12. Also the Old Books, ch. 69, l. 17.

2 Chapter 72, l. 5.

3 濁名. 4 成. 5 晉.

6 *Ch'un ts'iu*, ninth year of Süen's reign, and *Tso ch'wen*, second year of Süen; also the Historical Records, chapter 39, l. 29. It is, however, stated in the *Kwoh yü* (ch. 3) that when Ch'ing was born, his mother dreamed that a god marked his rump with ink, on account of which they called him Black rump.

7 景.

8 *Ch'un ts'iu*, tenth year of Ch'ing's reign.

9 *Tso ch'wen*, twenty-eighth year of the ruler Hi.

10 *Ch'un ts'iu*, tenth year of the reign of Ch'ing.

11 鄭.

12 *Ch'un ts'iu*, seventh year of Siang's reign.

of the same state who was raised to the throne in B. C. 580 [1]. In the list of princes of the state of Khi [2] we find one who reigned in the sixth century B. C., whose personal name was 乞, which then, as nowadays, may have meant Beggar [3]. This name was also that of one 陳乞, a minister of the state of Ts'i [4] who murdered his king in 488 B. C.; [5] and a member of his family was 田逆, T'ien the Recalcitrant [6].

The name 惡, Wu or Wuh, meaning vicious, evil, hated, filth, seems to have been borne anciently by many people. It was for instance that of 石惡, a high officer in the kingdom of Wei [7]; further it was borne by Siang [8], the ruler of the same state from 538 to 535 B. C. [9], and by a son of Wen [10] of Lu [11], killed in 609 B. C. [12] — In 300 B. C. a prince of the name 蟣虱, Ant-louse became a candidate for the throne in the state of Han [13]. — And in the first part of the second century B. C. there lived a grandee, whose name was 酈疥, Li Scabby or Scrophulous [14]. There lived also then the famous scholarly minister Szĕ-ma Siang-jü [15], whose parents gave him the name of 犬子, Puppy [16], for, says Yen Szĕ-ku of the T'ang dynasty, "his parents loved him so well that "they would not pronounce his name, and therefore invented this "name for him" [17].

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1 *Tso ch'wen*, tenth year of the reign of Ch'ing.

2 杞.

3 Historical Records, chapter 36, l. 8.

4 齊.

5 *Ch'un ts'iu*, the sixth year of the reign of Ngai. The *Tso ch'wen* calls him 陳僖子, and Szĕ-ma Ts'ien (ch. 32, ll. 20 *sqq*) 田乞.

6 Historical Records, chapter 32, ll. 22 *seq.*

7 衛. *Ch'un ts'iu*, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth year of Siang, or 545 B. C.

8 襄.

9 *Ch'un ts'iu*, seventh year of Chao's reign; also the Historical Records, ch. 37, l. 7.

10 文. 11 魯.

12 Historical Records, chapter 33, l. 14.

13 韓. Historical Records, chapter 45, l. 6.

14 Historical Records, ch. 97, ll. 5 *seq.* Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 43, l. 5.

15 司馬相如.

16 Historical Records, chapter 117, l. 1.

17 父母愛之、不欲稱斥、故爲此名也. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 57, I, l. 1.

On page 411 of Book I we have read of the grandee Liang Shang, father-in-law of an emperor in the second century of our era, and of his son Ki, likewise a high grandee. The latter had a son, who bore the inelegant name of 胡狗, Hunnish dog.[1] — The History of the South has a biography of a renowned grandee Chang King-rh[2], whose father was called 醜, Ugly, Detestable. "His mother, while asleep in a field, had dreamt that a horned "puppy licked her; and having as a consequence become pregnant, "she gave birth to King-rh, whose first name therefore was 狗兒 "Keu-rh, Puppy. And when she had another son, she dubbed "him, on account of Puppy, with the name Piglet. But the emperor "Ming of the house of Sung found Puppy too vile a name, and "changed it into King-rh, Estimable child; and consequently they "altered Piglet's name into Kung-rh, Honourable child".[3]

The famous general "Ts'ao Hu first bore the name 虎頭, Tiger's "head; but Shi Tsu (who reigned from 483 to 494) found it too "mean for him, and ordered him to adopt another"[4]. — Yen Chi-t'ui wrote, that in his time "there were in the northern countries many "people who gave their children such names as Young Ass, Colt, "Sow, by which the bearers were to call themselves and to be "called by their brothers"[5]. — In the History of the Kin Dynasty we come across the name 李瘸驢, Li Crippled ass, belonging to a Provincial Governor[6]. We find there also those of the Generals 唐括狗兒, T'ang-kwah Puppy[7]; 完顏猪兒, Hwan-yen Piglet, killed in battle in 1233[8]; 徒單醜兒, Tu-tan Ugly fellow[9];

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1 Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 64, l. 16.

2 張敬兒.

3 始其母於田中臥夢犬子有角舐之、已而有娠而生敬兒、故初名狗兒。又生一子、因狗兒之名復名猪兒。宋明帝嫌狗兒名鄙、改爲敬兒、故猪兒亦改爲恭兒. Chapter 45, l. 13.

4 曹虎本名虎頭、世祖以虎頭名鄙、敕改之. Books of the Southern Ts'i Dynasty, chapter 30, ll. 8 and 9.

5 北土多有名兒爲驢駒豚子者、使其自稱及兄弟所名. *Yen-shi kia hiun*, chapter 6.

6 For instance in chapter 15, ll. 14 and 20.

7 Chapter 15, l. 22.

8 Chapter 18, l. 3, and chapter 130, l. 6.

9 Chapter 134, l. 8.

完顏狗兒, Hwan-yen Puppy [1]; 紇石列猪狗, Hoh-shih-lieh Hog-dog [2]; 耶律亦狗兒, Yé-luh-yih Puppy [3], etc. The bearers of such names evidently were for the most part foreigners who settled on Chinese soil with invaders whom they served, so that we must conclude that the custom of having "mean names" extended across the borders of China proper. In the History of the Yuen dynasty of Jingis we also find names as 郭狗狗, Kwoh Dog of dogs, belonging to a paragon of filial devotion [4]; 石抹狗狗: Shih-moh Dog of dogs, a bold Khitan warrior [5]; 寧猪狗, Ning Pig-dog [6]; etc. It may be added in conclusion of the list, that we have met in history such names as 買奴, Bought slave; 醜奴, Vile slave; 小猴, Little ape; 阿狗, Dog; 鴟梟, Crying owl; even 盜, Robber or Thief; etc. etc.

It is now manifest that the "mean names" perfectly satisfy the conditions to which names in Chinese life have to answer, that is to say, they allow every one to pronounce them at any time and place, without any risk being run by the bearer or his felicity. No wonder therefore that most people of the common class want no other names, and actually have no others. In this respect they differ from the better classes, who are educated enough to know that well chosen names may greatly improve the destiny of the bearers, since whatever is spoken or written may constitute or produce the reality of what it expresses. Every boy who is born in a fashionable family is therefore carefully endowed not long after with a so-called ming ming [7] or "fate-name", which, in order to be pronounced as seldom as possible, is accompanied by a "mean name" for daily use.

It stands to reason that that name, as it constitutes or improves the destiny of the bearer, is his name *par excellence*. It is indeed called the ta ming [8] or "chief name". It may consist of any character or characters whatever which express something good or felicitous. Before and during the Tsin dynasty names of one character were the rule, and those of two characters exceptional, but after that we see names of two characters slowly increase, till during

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1 Chapter 134, ll. 8—10.
2 Chapter 134, l. 10.
3 Chapter 75, l. 1.
4 Chapter 197, l. 4.
5 Chapter 166, l. 15.
6 Chapter 197, l. 5.
7 命名.
8 大名.

the Ming dynasty, as at present, their number manifestly exceeds that of the others.

This system of nomenclature, so totally different from ours, is best illustrated by the names themselves, of which there exist, of course, an unlimited variety. Here are a few specimens: 增壽, Increase of longevity; — 加福, Increase of happiness; — 進財, Progress in wealth; — 得才, Acquired talents; — 任緒, Posterity with state-offices; — 從義, Obedience and dutifulness; — 崇孝, Exaltation of filial devotion; — 好古, Love of antiquity; — 表忠, Manifestation of loyalty; — 文達, Literary perspicacity; — 仁謙, Benevolent modesty; — 招弟, Calling in younger brothers, that is to say, entailing the birth of more boys; — 雲鶴, Heron in the Clouds, the symbol of longevity; etc. etc. Monosyllabic names are in some parts of China, for instance Canton, preceded with obvious frequency by the word 亞 or 阿, A or O, which, being apparently meaningless, is often omitted in writing.

A great many names at first sight betray no felicitous signification, as 青, Blue; 舟, Ship; 千里, Thousand miles; 吾, I or We; etc. Yet even these may have been the results of careful selection and owe their existence to perfectly valid reasons. Many a name contains cyclical characters which occur in the horoscope of its bearer, that is to say, among the eight which denote the hour, day, month and year of his birth, and therefore constitute his fate (see page 919); but it stands to reason that they are never placed in a name unless they are auspicious.

A name may also be given to a child or man in order to correct his horoscope. A good soothsayer is consulted on the matter. This man declares that a horoscope cannot be good unless it contains a properly adequate portion of each of the five Elements of the Universe, but for which condition the Universal Order would not work smoothly and thoroughly upon it, to the detriment, of course, of the owner, who might then fall a victim to spectral machinations. He furthermore sets forth that the characters of the denary and the duodenary cycles, which constitute horoscopes, are, in the way expounded on pp. 965 *seq.* of Book I, connected with the five cardinal points of the Universe, and, in consequence of this fact, also with the Elements (cf. Bk I, page 983), Time and Universe thus being fused together in accordance with the following table:

甲 乙 } 寅 卯 辰 East, and Wood.

庚 辛 } 申 酉 戌 West, and Metal.

丙 丁 } 巳 午 未 South, and Fire.

壬 癸 } 亥 子 丑 North, and Water.

戊 己 } Centre, and Earth.

With these conjunctions before his eyes, the soothsayer can easily do his work. Should he find, for instance, among the characters of the horoscope too many which belong to Wood, he may remedy this evil by the name 金 Metal, because Metal conquers Wood; or should this character work too strongly, he may select another in which metal merely stands as a component; or he may select one with 土 Earth in it, because Earth produces Metal. In similar manner all the other Elements may be probed and corrected by prudent application of the old, venerable doctrine on mutual creation and destruction of the Elements, which we have described on page 957 of Book I. Thus, as we see, the fundamentals of China's Universalism are not only thoroughly wise, but, if properly handled, also of the greatest usefulness in practical life, highly salutary to man and his fate.

Fate and health may also be improved by such names as 鐵 Iron, 椎 Hammer, 杵 Club, 石 Rock or Stone, 力 Strength, etc.; or by those in which metal, stone, or strength occur as a radical. If, in spite of all this care, the owner of the name be unhealthy or ailing, or fortune be slow to visit him, the remedy is sought in "change or correction of the name" [1]. This expedient has the

[1] 改名 or 解名.

advantage that the spectres will take him for a different sort of man, and therefore will leave him unmolested. In many cases names are changed at the suggestion of a divinity, imparted by the mouth of a possessed medium, or by some other oracular method.

Improving the fortune by changing the name is an old custom. About sixteen hundred years ago Koh Hung wrote: "Lao-tszĕ has "often changed the names which he bore in his childhood and "maturity, and Tan was not the only name he had. The following was "the reason why he did so: the Canon of the Nine Divisions of "the World and of the Numbers Three and Five, as also the "*Yuen ch'en king*, say that there are in every human life conjunc- "tions of dangers; and when these conjunctions occur, life may be "prolonged and dangers overcome by changing the names of childhood "and maturity, and thus remaining in concordance with the Uni- "versal Breath. Even at the present day many persons who have "the Tao act in this wise."[1] Thus Taoism embodied the system of promoting felicity by means of names in its own Universalistic mysticism. Yet, no doubt, most people will have corrected their names without much regard to such philosophy. We may refer here to the lines of the sixth century, quoted on page 443, which tell of a man who, knowing himself persecuted by a rancorous spectre, adopted another personal name and even another tribe-name, besides hiding himself in a convent. Emperors and their relations have in all ages changed their names just as the common people. Many Sons of Heaven changed theirs at their appointment to the dignity of heir-apparent or at their accession, and Suh Tsung[2] of the T'ang dynasty did so five times before he mounted the throne.

Names by which happy or glorious careers were produced have been benevolently imparted by gods or spirits to their favourites. "When Chang Ch'en was about to receive a fate-name, it was "dreamt that a god-man wrote down a large character Ch'en (vast, "great), saying, 'Give him this name'. His father, now convinced "that the case was an extraordinary one, encouraged his studies as

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[1] 老子數易名字、非但一聘而已。所以爾者、按九宮及三五經及元辰經云、人生各有厄會、到其時若易名字以隨元氣之變、則可以延年度厄。今世有道者亦多如此. *Shen sien ch'wen*, ch. 1.

[2] 肅宗.

"well as he could, and even ere he had been capped for marriage he "left his home and took his degree in the capital. And in the sixth year "of the Süen hwo period (1124) he was promoted to the tsin-"shi degree".[1] He closed his brilliant career as a Minister of State. We may then confidently assert that name-giving has always been considered in China a matter of high importance. That this was the fact as early as classical times, is shown by the ceremonious ritual with which it was then connected, and which is described in the *Li ki* in the following terms: "At the end of the child's "third month, on an (auspicious) day selected for this purpose, they "cut off its hair with the exception of tufts.... On that day, the "wife shows the child to its father.... Her husband enters the "gate, mounts the steps on the eastern side, and stands at the top "of them with his face to the west; and the wife with the child "leaves her room, and stands beside the door-post with her face to "the east. The nurse goes forward, and speaking for the mother, "says, 'The mother So-and-so ventures reverently to present to you "the child on this day'. Whereupon the father answers, 'May it "respect its superiors!', takes hold of the right hand of the child, "makes it laugh, and gives it a name, while the mother says, "'I shall not forget what you have said, and will do my best that "your words may be fulfilled'. Turning to the left, she hands the "baby to its governess, who, observing their order of rank, informs "the wives and mothers of the name, subsequently proceeding to "the inner chamber. And the husband tells the name to the steward "of the house, who, likewise observing their order of rank, informs "the male relations of it."[2]

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[1] 張闡將命名、夢神人大書闡字、曰以是名爾。父異之、力勉其爲學、未冠由舍選貢京師。登宣和六年進士第. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 381, l. 17.

[2] 三月之末擇日翦髮爲鬌...是日也妻以子見於父...夫入門、升自阼階、立于阼、西鄉、妻抱子出自房、當楣立、東面。姆先、相曰、母某敢用是日祗見孺子。夫對曰、欽有帥、父執子之右手、咳而名之、妻對曰、記有成。遂左還授師、子師辯告諸婦諸母名、妻遂適寢。夫告宰名、宰辯告諸男名. Section 內則, chapter 2.

The ming or ming tszĕ[1] is the name proper, the first which a man receives when still at his mother's breast, for which reason it is also called the jü ming or nai ming[2], "milk-name". It is, as we have seen, his "fate-name"; yet as a rule it is rather freely used by his parents and other seniors of the family, and later on by himself in correspondence and on name-cards; his friends too may use it in intimate conversation. This seems to imply, that the necessity of keeping that name secret is no longer imperative; inferiors and juniors, however, are obliged to abstain from pronouncing it, especially if the bearer is a person of position and dignity, for whom regard should be had.

When a boy first goes to school, his milk-name is practically replaced by a shu ming or ch'eh ming[3], "book-name", also called hioh ming[4], "study-name or school-name", which the teacher selects. It may be replaced by a khao ming[5] or "examination-name" later on, when he subjects himself to state-examinations for literary degrees; and this name becomes his pang ming[6] or "board-name" if it enjoys the honour of appearing on the "boards" or lists of the successful candidates, which are posted up in the examination-hall. This name, which has thus proved to be very felicitous, is for this reason retained by the owner when he is promoted to a state-office, and then becomes his kwan ming[7] or "official name", used by himself and others in official correspondence.

But it is at marriage in particular that a man adopts a new name, called his tszĕ or tszĕ ming[8], "designation". We might call this his name of manhood or maturity. It is, like all the names we have mentioned, except the "mean name", chosen with such care as ensures or promotes the felicity of the bearer, or increases and improves his talents or virtues. People of the lower class, workmen, farmers and so on generally have no tszĕ, so that its possession always indicates more or less distinction. Although this name, and all others which might be taken or obtained afterwards, serve to replace, conceal and secrete the fate-name, this latter, owing to the fact that it constitutes the bearer's felicity, is by no means dropped or forgotten.

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1 名 or 名字. 2 乳名 or 嬭名.
3 書名 or 册名. 4 學名. 5 考名.
6 榜名. 7 官名. 8 字 or 字名.

No name serves the purpose of secreting the fate-name so well as the tszĕ. Marriage indeed is the great event of life which, signifying maturity, manhood and paternity, entitles a man to have his name henceforth respected, especially by his children, the birth of whom is expected as a matter of course [1]. The use of tszĕ is traceable to China's ancient time. In the *Li ki* we read, that "after the ceremony of capping (or adorning the bridegroom with the "bonnet of virility, which immediately preceded the marriage) the "tszĕ was given to him" [2]. "A son was capped at twenty, and "then received his tszĕ; a daughter when promised in marriage "assumed the hair-pin and received her tszĕ" [3]. And that this new name was virtually intended to be the means by which to avoid the use of the fate-name, is evinced by these passages in the same holy book: "The giving of the tszĕ at the capping ceremony caused "his ming to be respected [4]. An ordinary officer, when speaking "in the presence of his Ruler, denotes a Great-officer who was dead, "either by his posthumous honorary name, or (if he had none) by his "tszĕ; but an ordinary officer (whom he need not respect as a "superior) he denoted by his ming. And when speaking with a "Great-officer he likewise mentioned ordinary officers by their ming, "but Great-officers by their tszĕ." [5]

It is a common opinion among Chinese authors that ancient books generally mention princes and sages by their tszĕ, and rarely by their ming. Ku Yen-wu says emphatically, "The ancients, "on account of respect for their names, are not mentioned by any-"body except by their tszĕ" [6]. This is not, however, the entire truth, for they are often mentioned by an honorary name also,

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1 Might this explain the composition of the character tszĕ 字, which seems to represent children 子 under a roof 宀?

2 已冠而字之. Sect. 冠義.

3 男子二十冠而字、女子許嫁笄而字. Sect. 曲禮, I, chapter 3.

4 冠而字之敬其名也. Sect. 郊特牲, III. See also the *I ti*, in the section specially describing the capping as anciently celebrated among ordinary officers; ch. II, l. 44 of the Palace edition of the Khien lung period.

5 士於君所言、大夫歿矣則稱謚若字、名士。與大夫言、名士、字大夫. Sect. 玉藻, III.

6 古人敬其名則無有不稱字者. *Jih chi luh*, ch. 23, 以字爲諱.

given them after their death. The terms 有熊, 陶唐, 有虞, and 夏后, by which authors denote respectively Hwang-ti, Yao, Shun, and Yü, are deemed to represent their tszĕ, indicative perhaps of their place of origin, while 軒轅, 放勳, 重華, and 文命 are considered by Szĕ-ma Ts'ien and later authors to be their ming, rarely mentioned in books. The list of rulers of the Shang dynasty, as Szĕ-ma Ts'ien gives it in the third chapter of the Historical Records, is apparently composed of their tszĕ; the ming of each is specially added to his tszĕ in the Annals of the Bamboo Books. Confucius is hardly ever mentioned by his ming, which is 丘 Khiu, but extremely often by his tszĕ, which is 仲尼 Chung-ni; and it is significant that we see him accosted as Khiu by Lao Tan or Lao-tszĕ, a much older man whom he himself considered to be superior to him in virtue and talents [1]. Since the Han dynasty, however, ministers and worthies are generally mentioned in the books by their ming, a license which must be ascribed to a tenet of the *Li ki*, according to which "there is no avoiding of "names in poetry and writing, nor in literary composition [2]; there "is no such avoidance in teaching and studying, nor in literary "composition" [3]. This classical rescript explains also why, as we have stated on page 1138, even nowadays the ming are freely used among men of letters in correspondence and on name-cards.

If we properly realize the reasons why the ancient Chinese avoided the use of fate-names, we cannot but find it quite natural to read in the works of Mencius this passage: "We avoid ming, but not "tribe-names, because a tribe-name comprises many individuals, "and a ming only a single one" [4]. Indeed, any name which defines thousands, nay tens of thousands of individuals at a time, actually defines none, and evil wrought upon it cannot do any hurt, so that there is no necessity whatever to keep it secret.

China's history shows convincingly in all its books that it has always been obligatory for its people to abstain strictly from mentioning the fate-names of parents, emperors, and certain other superiors, as well before as after their death. A really curious part

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1 See the narrative of the encounter of the two sages in Legge's translation of the *Li ki*, vol. I, p. 339; and in Couvreur's translation, vol. I, p. 458.

2 詩書不諱、臨文不諱. Sect. 曲禮, I, ch. 5.

3 教學臨文不諱. Sect. 玉藻, ch. 3.

4 諱名、不諱姓、姓所同也、名所獨也. Sect. 盡心, II.

has been played thereby in domestic and social life. Governmental measures, which in our eyes must appear extremely strange, have resulted from it, changes in geographical names and in names of offices, temporary or lasting modifications in writing; and all that to an extent which, of course, is much larger than Chinese books depict. The fundamental idea out of which that obligation has grown up, namely protection from evil spirits, evidently fell into oblivion at an early date; but the obligation itself remained, surviving generations, ages, dynasties, as a worthy manifestation of filial piety and loyalty. No doubt it owed its tenacity of existence principally to the fact that from the very first it had its roots within the domain of worship of the dead. In the Chinese portion of the globe, where that veneration reigns supreme, sacred names never lost their sacredness by the departure of their owners; on the contrary it increased thereby, and the obligation to taboo them has extended beyond the grave for all ages to this very day and hour. Thus being mainly a manifestation of reverence for the dead, the fulfilment of that duty in the long course of time cannot reasonably be a topic for description in these pages, which are especially devoted to exorcising practices. It will be attended to in Part VI, the special subject of which is Ancestor Worship.

CHAPTER XX.

MAN AN EXORCIST BY NATURE, AND ON ACCOUNT OF HIS LEARNING, POSITION, AND VIRTUE.

A study of the perpetual war of the Chinese against spectres must readily lead to the conclusion that man, though a principal object of attacks of the spectral world, is at the same time an eminent exorcist. In fact it is a main doctrine in Chinese Demonology that he can expel and destroy spectres not only by means of his wit and intelligence, but also by his very nature. And no wonder, for since the fundamental principle of exorcism is the natural destruction of the Yin by the Yang, a man's yang soul, called hwun or shen, must by its mere presence in his body endow him with exorcising capacities, especially if that soul is well developed and manifests itself by vitality, strength, courage, energy, intellect, and spiritual or even magical power, in short, by qualities comprised in the term ling (page 12). It is even a classical dogma that, on this account, man stands prominent above all devil-expellers whatsoever, for in the *Shu king* we read, that Wu, the royal paragon, on opening a campaign against the tyrant Cheu of the Yin dynasty, whom Heaven had directed him to destroy, delivered a speech to his wariors which began with these remarkable words: "Heaven is the father of the myriads of beings and things, and "Earth is their mother; and among the myriads of beings man "more than any other is endowed with ling".[1]

The conviction that man by his nature itself is a dispeller of spectres, plays its part in Chinese life in many ways. When attacks of those beings are apprehended, people crowd together (cf. pp. 477, 482, 998), evidently on the principle "more men, more ling"; they also intimidate their invisible assailants by means of noisy instruments, which may make them think that they have to do

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[1] 惟天地萬物父母、惟人萬物之靈. Section 泰誓, I.

with more people than in reality there are. The character 囂, which means boisterousness of a crowd, has for many centuries been one of the best among devil-expelling charms (p. 1045). Many a tale teaches, that if a person, while alone, is attacked by spectres, other people, on hearing his cries, will generally save him by running to the spot with loud yells, or that even the accidental approach of a single person will suffice to ensure the flight of those beings. Such belief has naturally induced men at all times to join in processions, should they have to expel devils *en masse*.

The shen or hwun, to which man owes his exorcising power, is identical with his breath or khi (see page 5). On this account he may drive away and even destroy spectres by blowing at them. This conception is well illustrated by the tale of which we have given the translation on page 716. Conversely, as this tale and others (*e. g.* pp. 735 *seq.*) show, the cold, chilling breath of spectres, which is, of course, yin like the spectres themselves, is very dangerous to the vitality of man, and may even strike him with fatal effect. Anti-spectral also is human spittle, this liquid being, according to the Chinese (see p. 392), produced in the mouth by the vital breath, and therefore called ling fluid or shen water. We have seen on page 616, that in the fourth century of our era Yü Pao represented demons as hating to be spit at, and completely mastered by means of saliva. It is to this day an old and common practice, even highly commended by professional medical men and in medical books, to spit at people who lie in a swoon or otherwise suffer from demoniacal disease (*e. g.* p. 687), the practice having, moreover, the advantage of bringing new shen substance into them. Purification of rooms, houses, streets and altars by spurting water from the mouth, thus making breath and spittle work in combination, is an established rite of the Taoist and Buddhist clergy. In particular such simultaneous blowing and spitting is practised with exorcising intent by Wu-ist priests, and by medical men when they try to cure madmen and other sufferers from demoniacal possession.

But, as we have stated, the degree of influence exercised by man upon the demon world is essentially determined by the degree or state of his ling, that is to say, by his intellect and courage, or, as it may be put also, his cleverness and impudence. The effect of cleverness upon spectres and their tricks, illustrated in this work by many narratives, is vast and varied, and the range of exorcising expedients invented in China is in the main even a product of this

quality. But, as we have also seen in many tales, boldness and bluster render powerful aid in the same direction; and indeed it is a Chinese tenet that man, when his audacity quits him, loses shen substance, opportunity being thus afforded to spectres to take its place and dominate him. Hence also the conclusion that spectres never venture to approach a man of courage; which, according to our views, may mean that such a man is not the victim of his own spectre-raising suggestions.

"Lü, a man of Reality", that is to say, who had attained the Tao, lived in the old time of Hwang-ti, and "advised mankind "to have no fear when seeing spectres, but in all cases to blow "at them, and thus fight immaterial things with something imma- "terial. Spectres fear nothing so much as breath, and breath can "vanquish even swords or clubs. And the master Chang Khi-shih said: "'Whenever you see a spectre, remain fearless and fight it, for "this is sure to bring you into a better condition if you are victorious, "while, should you be worsted, your condition will merely remain "as it was".[1]

Sui Yuen, our modern authority on spectre-lore who wrote these lines, also states by means of some pithy tales the fact, that in the war with spectres the palm falls to the lot of the bold. "Wang "Khi-ming of Wu-yuen (in Nganhwui pr.) removed to the house of a "tsin-shi graduate in Shang-ho, which had been inhabited long "before by the tsin-shi Wang Po, a clansman of his. In the "year kiah-wu of the Khien lung period (A. D. 1774), on the "first day of the fourth month, he dreamt at night of a nightmare "spectre, and when he awoke, he saw a spectre in erect posture "quite near the bed-curtains. It was as tall as the house was high. "Wang, a brave fellow, sprang up promptly and dealt the spectre "some blows, which thereupon forced itself through the door in "haste and made off, but by mistake ran against a wall. It then "appeared greatly perplexed; indeed, Wang was now able to overtake "it and clasped both his arms around its waist. But suddenly a "chilly draught blew out the lamp. The face of the spectre thus "became invisible, but Wang felt that its arms were extremely

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[1] 婁眞人勸人遇鬼勿懼、須以氣吹之、以無形敵無形。鬼最畏氣、轉勝刀棍也。張豈石先生云、見鬼勿懼、但與之鬬、鬬勝固佳、鬬敗我不過同他一樣. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 9.

"cold, and that its middle was as bulky as an earthen jar. He "would have called the inmates of the house, but his voice stuck "in his throat, and no sound issued; and some time elapsed ere he "managed to cry aloud at the top of his voice. The inmates responded "to his cries; the spectre shrunk to the size of a baby, and when "they reached the spot with torches, Wang had nothing in his "arms but a ball of refuse silk floss. But outside the window a "shower of tiles and potsherds was wildly thrown about; the "inmates, seized with panic, cried out that he should let the "spectre go; but our hero laughed and said: 'It is in vain that "those hordes of spectres try to terrify me; what can they do now? "if I let this one here escape, it will help the rest in their evil "work; I had better kill it, as a warning to all'. And grasping "the spectre firmly with his left hand and the torch of an inmate "with his right, he roasted the being; it crackled, and fresh blood "gushed out of it, which emitted so intolerable a stench that at "sunrise, when the neighbours from all sides flocked to the spot in "consternation, they had to hold their noses with their fingers because "of the stench. Blood then lay on the ground more than an inch "thick, rank, greasy, sticky. What spectre this was has always "remained a mystery." [1]

— "One Yeh Lao-t'oh, a man from a place unknown to me,

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[1] 婺源汪啟明遷居上河之進士第、其族汪進士波故宅也。乾隆甲午四月一日夜夢覺、良久寤、見一鬼逼帷立。高與室齊。汪素勇、突起搏之、鬼急奪門走、而誤觸墻。狀甚狼狽、汪追及之、抱其腰。忽陰風起殘燈滅。不見鬼面目、但覺手甚冷、腰犒如甕。欲喊集家人、而聲噤不能出、久之極力大叫。家人齊應、鬼形縮小如嬰兒、各持炬來照、則所握者壞綿絲一團也。窓外瓦礫亂擲如雨、家人咸怖勸釋之、汪笑曰、鬼黨虛嚇人耳、奚能爲、倘釋之、將助爲祟、不如殺一鬼、以懲百鬼。因左手握鬼、右手取家人火炬、燒之、腷膊有聲、鮮血迸射、臭氣不可聞、迨曉四隣驚集、聞其臭無不掩鼻者。地上血厚寸許、腥膩如膠。竟不知何鬼也. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 5.

"travelled about with his hair tied up in a knot, barefooted, in the "same gown of linen in summer as in winter, and carrying about "a bamboo sleeping-mat. In this guise he came to an inn in Wei- "yang. Finding the guest-room there rather noisy, he looked round "for better quarters, whereupon the inn-keeper showed him a room, "saying: 'None is so quiet as this, but there are spectres in it; "you had better not put up there'. But Yeh replied: 'That is "nothing', and having swept the room clean, he spread out his "mat on the ground, whereon to pass the night.

"At the third watch-drum (11 P. M.) the door flew open, and "he beheld a woman with a rope around her neck; her eyes "were hanging outside the sockets down upon her cheeks, and a "tongue some feet in length protruded from her mouth. In she "came with a headless spectre which carried two heads in its "hands. And just behind her another spectre came in, its body "quite black, and its ears, eyes, mouth and nose hardly visible, "as also a spectre whose four limbs were covered with yellow "ulcers and whose belly was even bigger than a pumpkin of "five stones' weight. 'There is the smell of a living man here', "they said to each other, 'we will catch him'; and they groped "about as if to lay hold of him, yet without being able to get "near to Yeh. 'Yet he must be here', said the spectre, 'that is "clear enough; how strange that we do not seize him'. Upon "which the yellow big-bellied one said: 'As a rule we catch men "because they are so afraid that their hwun leaves them; this "one here must be a doctor who possesses the Tao, and therefore "has so little fear that his soul does not quit him; this is why "he is so indistinct and so hard to catch'. And while the spectres "were moving about, looking for him in every direction, Yeh rose "on his mat, pointed at himself with his finger, and said: 'Here "I am'.[1]

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[1] 有葉老脫者、不知其由來、科頭跣足、冬夏一布袍、手挈竹席而行。嘗投維楊旅店。嫌客房嘈雜、欲擇潔地、店主指一室、曰、此最靜僻、但有鬼、不可宿。葉曰、無害、徑自掃除、攤竹席于地、夜臥。

至三鼓門忽開、見有婦人繫帛于項、雙眸抉出懸兩頤下、伸舌長數尺。行而來、旁有無頭

"Now all the spectres started; they knelt down and bowed, and "Yeh asked them one by one who they were. The woman pointed "at the three others, saying, 'This one has lost his life in water; "this one has died in a fire, and this one was beheaded for "robbery and murder; and I have strangled myself in this room'. "'Do you submit to me'? said Yeh. 'We do', they exclaimed. "'If so, then become again incarnate and human, and haunt this "place no more'. Each one in his turn now did obeisance and "disappeared. At daybreak he related the incident to the inn-"keeper, and ever since that apartment has been undisturbed". [1]

— "Kiai, Vice-President of a Board, had a clan-brother, very plucky "and bold, who would not hear of spectres and spirits, and pre-"ferably settled in dwellings which were in bad repute as inauspi-"cious. In Shantung he came to an inn, a room on the west side "of which was said to be haunted. Kiai, rejoiced to hear it, "opened the door of that apartment, and immediately occupied it. "At the third watch-drum (11 P. M.) a tile came down from the "roof-beam. 'You spectres', cried he with a curse, 'I shall not "be afraid of you unless you throw down something which is not "lying on my roof'; and lo, a mill-stone came down. Again Kiai "gave utterance to a curse; 'evil spirits', he cried, 'I shall not "fear you until you smash my table'; and a big stone actually "came down, crushing to atoms one half of that piece of furniture. "Now Kiai flew into a passion; 'spectres, dogs, slaves! have the

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鬼、手提兩頭。繼至尾其後者一鬼遍體皆黑、耳目口鼻甚糢糊、一鬼四肢黃腫、腹大于五石瓠。相詫曰、此間有生人氣、當共攫之、羣作搜捕狀、卒不得近葉。一鬼曰、明明在此、而搜之不得奈何。黃胖者曰、凡吾輩之能以攝人者以其心怖而魂先出也、此人蓋有道之士、心不怖、魂不離體、故倉猝不易得。羣鬼方徬徨四顧、葉乃起坐席下、以手自表曰、我在此。

[1] 群鬼驚悸、齊跪地下、葉一一訊之。婦人指三鬼曰、此死于水者、此死于火者、此盜殺人而被刑者、我則縊死此室者也。葉曰、若輩服我乎。皆曰然。曰、然則各自投生、勿在此作祟。各羅拜去。迨曉爲主人道其事、嗣後此室宴然. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 2.

"courage to smash my head, and I will confess myself beaten'; "and with these words he rose, flung his cap to the ground and "waited, holding his head erect. But silence prevailed; not a sound "was heard, and the visitations of spectres were for ever ended there" [1].

— "O-chen, a slave of Tsiang King-wu, bold and strong, was a "tippler. He dwelt with his master at the Si-chih gate, in a place "which harboured so many spectres that nobody ventured to live "there. O-chen was just established there when a spectre with flowing "hair appeared in the night. He had just then had a glass too "much and felt himself brave; and as the spectre put out a tongue "of about ten feet in length, in order to frighten him, he sprang "up, grasped it, and tore it out — a chilly tongue, as soft as floss. "Off the spectre ran with loud shrieks. Our hero placed the tongue "under his sleeping-mat, and next morning he saw that it was a "rope of plaited straw. Since that event all work of spectres has "ceased there". [2]

The fear which intrepid men inspire may be so great that even their portraits or images act as powerful charms, likenesses being indeed, as we know (pp. 342 *sqq.*), assimilated with their originals, and deemed to be animated. In the second half of the fifth century of our era there lived a terrible warrior, who answered to the name of Hwan Khang. "In villages and towns through

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[1] 介侍郎有族兄甚强悍、憎人言鬼神事、每所居喜擇其素號不祥者而居之。過山東一旅店人言西廂有怪。介大喜、開戶、直入坐。至三鼓瓦墜于梁。介罵曰、若鬼耶須擇吾屋上所無者而擲焉、吾方畏汝、果墜一磨石。介又罵曰、若厲鬼耶須能碎吾之几、吾方畏汝、則墜一巨石、碎几之半。介大怒罵曰、鬼狗奴敢碎吾之首、吾方服汝、起立、擲冠于地、昂首而待。自此寂然無聲、怪亦永斷矣. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 2.

[2] 蔣敬五之僕阿眞勇而好酒。常隨主寓西直門、其地多鬼、人不敢居。阿眞居之、夜有鬼披髮而來。其方醉不懼也、鬼伸舌丈許以嚇之、阿眞起以手執之、并拔其舌、冷軟如綿。鬼大號而去。乃置舌席下、次早視之一草繩耳。鬼從此絕. Supplementary *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 4.

"which he passed, he committed most cruel acts of violence, so that "the people in Kiang-nan feared him so much that they intimidated "their babies by means of his name, and painted pictures of him "in the temples. Sufferers from fever were all forthwith cured without "exception if they pasted such portraits on their beds or walls." [1]

Men of courage and self-reliance may even vanquish and lay spectres of illness which nestle within their own persons. As Twan Ch'ing-shih relates, "there lived in the district of Fung-t'ien, in a "village named Kwoh-shing, a commoner of the Liu tribe, who "laboured under madness and, whenever he had an attack, ran "about impetuously, heeding neither wells nor ditches. His family "therefore fetched one Heu Kung-min, who could restrain spectres "by means of spells, in order to treat the patient. No sooner had "that man come than Liu jumped up and said: 'I shall absent "myself, for I have no need of your treatment'. Grasping a shoulder-"pole used for carrying firewood, he went to the open field, "bared his breast and shoulders, and brandished the pole as if he "were beating something; and after a while he came back home "and said laughingly: 'My illness is gone, for I have just now "knocked the head off a spectre and buried it in the field'. His "brothers and the conjurer, though they did not trust him and still "believed him to be mad, went with him to see; and Liu dug "up the ground and fetched up a skull with some ten reddish "hairs upon it. He was now totally cured. This event occurred in "the fifth year of the Hwui ch'ang period (A.D. 844)." [2]

It follows from all this as a matter of course, that men of mighty stature, and therefore apt to display courage and energy, must

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[1] 桓康所經村邑恣行暴害、江南人畏之、以其名怖小兒、畫其形於寺中。病癘者寫形帖著牀壁、無不立愈. History of the South, ch. 46, l. 4.

[2] 奉天縣國盛村百姓姓劉者病狂、發時亂走、不避井塹。其家爲迎禁呪人侯公敏治之。公敏纔至、劉忽起曰、我暫出、不假爾治。因杖薪擔至田中、袒而揮擔、狀若擊物、良久而反、笑曰、我病已矣、適打一鬼頭落、埋於田中。兄弟及呪者猶以爲狂、不實之、遂同往驗焉、劉掘出一髑髏、戴赤髮十餘莖。其病竟愈。是會昌五年事. *Noh-kao ki;* Supplementary *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 1.

stand farther beyond the reach of demoniacal illness than the small and the weak. A robust constitution moreover implies a strong shen or ling. It is then very natural to read in Chinese books statements like this: "Fever-spectres are too tiny to render "tall persons ill, and therefore it is said that robust men catch no "fever. In Tsin (Shansi) people say, that men of superior order "catch no fever; and in Shuh (Szĕ-ch'wen) they consider intermit-"tent fever to be fever of male and female slaves." [1]

A courageous man while boldly fighting or trying to terrify by aggressive gestures, easily gets his hair disordered. Therefore flowing hair intimates intrepidity, and cannot fail to inspire the spectral world with fear. We have learned on pp. 280 *seq.* that this idea has not only formed the text of old traditions, but as early as the Han dynasty had created the custom of setting up long-haired heads, in order to drive away spectres. No wonder that to this day long-haired exorcists assuming this terrifying aspect and enhancing it by weapons brandished with vigour, are everyday appearances, also in spectre-expelling processions (cf. 983).

Accoutrements have been worn with the same object since early times. Before the Christian era, the fang-siang, while purifying grave-pits, houses and streets, were dressed with bearskins and masked with grotesque caps (Bk I, page 162); and under the Han dynasty persons, masked as animals, feathered, haired, and horned, accompanied them in exorcising processions, jumping about and screaming, (Bk II, p. 976). Probably such exorcists have appeared in all ages at funerals. Even to this day, as we have observed on page 160 of Bk I, fang-siang are seen therein in the shape of effigies. At the beginning of our era, "there were ugly heads [2] for driving away epidemical disease" [3]. The use of these masks was explicitly prescribed in the official Ritual of the Sui dynasty: "Offi-"cers from the fourth degree to the highest may use fang-siang, "and those of the three lowest degrees ugly heads" [4]. In the Ritual

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1 瘧鬼小、不能病巨人、故曰壯士不病瘧。晉人曰、君子不病瘧。蜀人以痎瘧爲奴婢瘧. *Suh poh wuh chi*, ch. 10.

2 顛頭. The character 顛 is stated by the *Shwoh wen* to mean 醜, "ugly" or "detestable". In books of later time we often find it written 魌.

3 今逐疫有顛頭. *Shwoh wen*, ch. 9, I, l. 14.

4 四品已上用方相、七品已上用魌頭. Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 8, l. 7.

of the Khai yuen period we read, that in funeral trains, "behind "the carriage in which the soul-tablet was conveyed, came the "carriage of the fang-siang, which, however, was to be replaced "by a carriage with an ugly head at funerals of officers of any "grade below the fifth".[1] And under the Sung dynasty, according to its Official Ritual, "the officers of the four highest degrees might "have one fang-siang, and those below in rank to the seventh "degree an ugly head."[2] And the same Ritual refers to those customs in a statement to this effect: "With respect to the funeral "rites of officers and common people, it was decreed in the third "year of the Khai pao period (A. D. 970) that in the department "of Khai-fung (containing the Metropolis) it was forbidden to all "families who had a burial to perform, to occupy themselves with "Taoist and Buddhist observances, or to employ a van of men "masked as strange men or animals".[3] Finally, under the house of Ming, "fang-siang with four eyes were allowed for funerals "of officers of the highest degree to the fourth, and with two eyes "for those of officers from the fifth degree to the seventh; but for "officers of the eighth or any lower rank there might not be used "any fang-siang"[4].

Noteworthy, but ambiguous, are the following lines on the subject, written in the eighth century by Twan Ch'ing-shih: "Ugly heads serve "to protect the spirits of the dead. They are called su i pei su[5], "in which term su means likeness; and they are called khwang "tsu, 'ravening obstacles'(?), or also ch'uh khwang, 'grave "assailers'(?). If they have four eyes, they are called fang-siang; "if they have two, they are named khi or 'dancers'(?). Seeing "that Fei Chang-fang (see p. 1170) was acquainted with medicine "balls of Li Ngo, which he called fang-siang brains, it may "be that the fang-siang were spectral beings, and that the officers

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1 靈車後次方相車、六品以下魌頭車也.

2 諸四品已上用方相、七品以上用魌頭. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 124, l. 13.

3 士庶人喪禮、開寶三年十月詔開封府禁喪葬之家不得用道釋威儀及裝束異色人物前引. The same work, ch. 125, l. 1.

4 方相四品以上四目、七品以上兩目、八品以下不用. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 15.

5 Is there an exotic word concealed in this term, as also in the following?

"(denoted by this name), who were employed by the former sages "(of the Cheu dynasty), were the representatives thereof." [1]

But, as we have stated, as well as the intrepid man and the man who inspires awe by shape, accoutrement and gesture, the intelligent man, likewise owing to his abundance of shen and ling, naturally possesses a special degree of resistance and power against the spectral world. This power is the common advantage of the whole intellectual class. Every scholar, even all students, nay schoolboys, possess it in a measure adequate to their ability and literary attainments; but in particular it is imparted to them in proportion to the height of the degree which they obtain in the state-examinations. There is, however, for this conception a second ground, which was set forth by us on page 1010: a learned man means a man imbued with the classical doctrine which keeps mankind in the path of the normality, correctness or rectitude (ching or twan) of the Tao or Universal Order, so that he cannot but exercise a contrary and destructive influence upon everything which is sié or abnormal, incorrect, and bad. It follows then that a scholar, should he venture to indulge in non-classical or heterodox study, loses his invulnerability and power, and falls a prey to the demon world, to see accordingly his fortunes wane more and more as he sinks deeper into his abnormalities.

Still higher than scholars in the ranks of natural exorcists stand members of the ruling class. Indeed, these are, theoretically, the cream of the intellectuals; moreover they derive exorcising power from the Son of Heaven, the bearers of whose power they are in administering a government which rests on the Classics and the Tao, and from whom therefore, proportionately to their rank and dignity, they borrow the authority which that highest being on this earth wields over all spirits that be. All shen, be they gods or human souls, are, as we know, in the system of the World of a homogeneous constitution, being altogether parts of the one Universal Yang; consequently, superior among them must be the soul or spirit of the reigning emperor, who is no less than the son of

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[1] 魌頭所以存亡者之魂氣也。一名蘇衣被蘇、蘇如也、一曰狂阻、一曰觸壙。四目曰方相、兩目曰儆。據費長房識李娥藥凡、謂之方相腦、則方相或鬼物也、前聖設官象之. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 13.

Heaven, being thus a magnitude second only to this power which governs the Universe and above which there is none. It is then a first and natural article of China's political and religious creed that the emperor, like Heaven itself, is the lord and ruler of the gods or spirits; how powerless then must the kwei, those miserable yin beings, which in the Order of the World are always a prey to the influences of the Yang and its shen, dwindle before him, who is the male or yang child of Heaven, and the very embodiment of the Yang on this earth.

This great dogma does not, however, imply that the emperor and his government, his magnates and dignitaries, are under all circumstances beyond the power of the demon world. Heaven, which reigns supreme in the Universe over all things that be, may allow spectres to harm even his own son and his proxies, should they, instead of maintaining the Tao among the human race by a classically orthodox, virtuous rule, sin against the Tao by misrule or private misconduct. This logic is fully in accordance with the fact, that history tells on every page of mandarins who fell ill or became victims to such fatalities as are common to all men, and that Heaven, by withdrawing its protecting hand from worthless and sinful imperial rulers, has often caused their thrones to totter and fall, themselves together with their satellites to incur ignominy and even death, mostly by the hand of insurgents aided by spectral legions.

These doctrines have their root in the Classics. According to the *Shu king*, I-yin [1], a most virtuous statesman who had an influential hand in the overthrow of the Hia dynasty and the accession of the celebrated T'ang who founded a new house known by the name of Shang, uttered the following words in the year 1753 before our era, addressing T'ai-kiah [2], T'ang's grandson and successor:

"Alas! it is so difficult to rely on Heaven, and its appoint-
"ments (to imperial dignity) are so precarious. If the emperor's
"virtues are stable and constant, Heaven protects his throne; but
"if his virtues are unstable, he loses his nine possessions (or great
"provinces constituting the empire). The ruler of the Hia dynasty
"was not able to practice any virtue; he offended the gods, he
"oppressed his people. So the Imperial Heaven protected him not,
"and its eye wandered over the myriads of regions to see if there

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[1] 伊尹. [2] 太甲.

"were any one to whom the imperial appointment could be given; "with a look of affection it sought an all-virtuous man to make "him *lord of the shen*. Only myself and T'ang were possessed of "perfect virtue and could thereby enjoy Heaven's affectionate favour; "so it was he who received the glorious appointment (to the imperial "dignity), and thus became the master of the people in the nine "provinces." [1]

The supremacy of good rulers over all the shen is also stated in the *Shi king*, in a verse which relates to the illustrious Wu, the founder of the Cheu dynasty: "He contained in himself the hundreds of shen, and bent them to his will" [2]. And that perfect rulers keep all evil spirits at a distance is stated by the *Tso ch'wen* in the following lines, which relate to the year 534 B. C.:

"Tszĕ-ch'an of Ching went on a visit to Tsin. The feudal ruler "of this state at that time was ill, and Han Süen-tszĕ, who went "to meet the visitor, said to him privately, 'Our ruler has been "ill in bed for three months; we have all been running about, "sacrificing to the hills and streams, but his illness has become "worse instead of better; and now he has dreamt that a yellow "bear has entered the inner gate of his courtyard; what evil ghost "may this be?' — 'With a prince so intelligent as yours', replied "Tszĕ-ch'an, 'and with you at the head of the government, what "evil spirits can there be?'" [3]

No wonder then that in literature of every age mandarins, and especially the military, are represented as acute, audacious, and successful fighters of spectres. The renowned statesman Tih Jen-

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1 嗚呼、天難諶、命靡常。常厥德、保厥位、厥德靡常、九有以亡。夏王弗克庸德、慢神虐民。皇天弗保、監于萬方、啟迪有命、眷求一德、俾作神主。惟尹躬暨湯咸有一德、克享天心、受天明命、以有九有之師. The Books of Shang, section 咸有一德, "both possessed perfect virtue".

2 懷柔百神. Section 周頌, Odes of Cheu, VIII.

3 鄭子產聘於晉。晉侯有疾、韓宣子逆客、私焉曰、寡君寢疾於今三月矣、竝走群望、有加而無瘳、今夢黃熊入於寢門、其何厲鬼也。對曰、以君之明、子爲大政、其何厲之有. The seventh year of Chao's reign.

kieh, of whom we have spoken on page 466 of Book I, by his eminence and intrepidity was even able to put a stop to the operations of a human spectre which had by its mere visits killed quite a series of high officers. "In the reign of the empress Tseh-t'ien "(A. D. 684—705) he became Governor of Ning-cheu. The official "mansion of that place had always been a scene of misfortunes, "and more than ten of his predecessors had died in it. No sooner "had he arrived than his underlings warned him that the building "had suffered for a long time from evil, and everybody had "lacked courage to live in it; shrubs, weeds and thorny brambles "had converted it into ruins, so that, as it was completely uninha- "bitable, they entreated him to lodge somewhere else. But he "said, 'Shall a Governor not dwell in his own mansion, but lodge "in another?' And he told them to unseal and unlock the doors, "and to put the mansion in a state of repair; after which he "settled there.

"In accordance with his expectations there then occurred appa- "ritions and strange things for several nights, and so often that "they cannot be recorded. In the end he burst into anger and "exclaimed, 'I am the Governor, and this here is *my* dwelling; "you are treacherous, I am honest; how is it that you do not "understand that difference, but put your sié against my ching? "If you are shen, then forthwith obey the laws of light; but if "you are kwei or mei, whence then have you such boldness as "to thwart me? I do not choose to fear you, and it is therefore "of no use to you to assume a thousand, even ten thousand shapes; "if you have a reasonable desire to see me, why then do not you "come forth respectfully and politely?

"Hereupon a man appeared, wearing a complete official dress "and an official cap; he planted himself in front of him, and "said, '1 was an officer of the Imperial House So-and-so, and have "been buried under the tree at the west of the steps of this hall; "my material soul (p'oh) is pierced by the roots, which thus make "me suffer intolerably. I appeared before quite a series of Governors "to inform them of it, but all died at the very moment, so that "the way of communication from the lower world has remained "closed to me to this day. If you are able piously to bury me "somewhere else, my lord, why then should you hesitate?' With "these words the spectre vanished.

"Next day Jen-kieh ordered his men to dig in the ground at "the spot indicated, and discovered that the spectre had told the

"truth. He buried its remains somewhere else, and since that time "there have been no more apparitions." [1]

A similar story is told of a famous general of modern time, who under Shi Tsu of the now reigning House reconquered the so-called Three Feodalities [2], viz. Szĕ-ch'wen, Kwangtung and Fuhkien, after the great rising in 1674, which is commonly styled the insurrection of Wu San-kwei [3], feudal ruler of Szĕ-ch'wen. "When the supreme "Commander Chao Liang-tung had reduced the Three Feodalities "to subjection, his way led him through Ch'ing-tu in Szĕ-ch'wen. "Here the Governor of the province received him, and assigned a "private house to him; but as he found this too small, he preferred "to lodge in the Yamen of the Provincial Judge, situated westward "from the city. But the Governor said, 'I am told that that Yamen "has been locked up for more than a hundred years, being haunted "by spectres on an extensive scale, so that I cannot permit "myself to make it ready for you'. On which the Commander "laughed and answered, 'In reducing the rebels to subjection, I have "slain people in such countless numbers that even spectres, if they "have ling, must fear me'. And having sent his domestics thither

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[1] 則天時狄仁傑爲寧州刺史。其宅素凶、先時刺史死者十餘輩。傑初至、吏曰、官舍久凶、先後無敢居者、且榛荒棘毀已、不可居、請舍他所。傑曰、刺史不舍本宅、何別舍乎。命去封鎖、葺治、居之。

不疑數夕詭怪奇異不可勝紀。傑怒謂曰、吾是刺史、此則吾宅、汝曲、吾直、何爲不識分理、反乃以邪忤正。汝若是神、速聽明教、若是鬼魅、何敢相干。吾無懼汝之心、徒爲千變萬化耳、必理要相見、何不以禮出耶。

斯須有一人具衣冠而前曰、某是某朝官、葬堂階西樹下、體魄爲樹根所穿、楚痛不堪忍。頃前數公、多欲自陳、其人輒死、幽途不達以至于今。使君誠能改葬、何敢遷延。於此言訖不見。

明日傑令發之、果如其言。乃爲改葬、自此絕也. KK, ch. 329.

[2] 三藩. [3] 吳三桂.

"to sweep, he lodged his family in the inner chambers, while he "occupied the main apartment and laid himself down there to "sleep, his head resting on the long halberd which he was wont "to use on the battle-field.

"It was the hour of the second watch drum when the hooks "of his bed-curtain clinked, and a tall being with a white shirt "and a big swag belly filled up the whole space before the bed. "The light of the candles at the same time became bluish and weak. "The General sat up, and his voice of thunder sent the spectre "three paces backward; the light of the candle thereby flared "up and became a steady glare, so that the general could see that "the spectre's head and face were like those of a fang-siang "spirit, as people generally portray it. He seized his halberd and "stabbed at the spectre, but it fled up the roofbeam; here too, "however, the halberd reached it, and again the spectre had to "flee, chased into a side alley, where it vanished.

"Now returning to his room, the General perceived that somebody "followed him. He turned round and looked, and saw that the "same spectre came on smilingly quite close behind him. This "irritated the General so much that he exclaimed with a curse, "'Where in the world have I come across so leathern-faced (brazen-"faced) a spectre as this?' All the domestics now awoke and came "on the scene with their weapons; but the spectre retired and ran "through the side alley into an empty room. And while sand and "dust were whirled up, and a clattering noise indicated that the "whole hideous crew had flocked together to fight them, the spectre "ran forward into the central apartment, and there turned on them "deliberately like (a tiger) in a recess of a hill [1]. The servants all "regarded each other and lacked courage to fall on; so the General, "whose rage was thereby redoubled, thrust his halberd with his "own hand into the spectre's belly. A noise was heard as if an "inflated body had been pierced; the spectre became invisible, and "nothing remained but two glistering eyes on the wall, as large "as bronze platters, which emitted a blinding light. The domestics "at once fell on them with their swords, belabouring them so "well that they scattered into sparks which filled the appartment "and, gradually diminishing in size, finally disappeared. It has "never been understood what spectre this was." [2]

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1 An expression borrowed from Mencius, sect. 盡心, II, § 23.

2 趙大將軍良棟平三藩後、路過四川成都。川

Emperors no doubt have often actually played their rôle of natural exorcists. We have related on pp. 477, 479 and 481 some instances of their interference to rescue their people who were suffering from spectre-panics. It may be suggested that they did not proffer their aid before the mandarins in authority in the harrassed districts had exhausted their own best attempts to lay the spectres, and, more or less after the fashion which we have sketched on page 473, had duly engaged the gods in the defensive warfare.

We have noted before, that the superstitious confidence, reposed in the exorcising capacities of mandarins, is extended by the people even to characters and signs written with their carnation ink pencils (see pp. 1048 and 1052). It is extended also to these pencils themselves. In Amoy these things are placed upon the sick to cure them, or fastened to the bedside, or above the door. Black ink pencils with the same origin are also considered useful, though

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撫迎之、授舘于民家、將軍嫌其隘、意欲宿城西察院衙門。撫軍曰、聞此中關鎖百餘年、頗有怪、不敢爲公備。將軍笑曰、吾盪平寇賊、殺人無算、妖鬼有靈亦當畏我。卽遣丁役掃除、置眷屬于內室、而已獨占正房、枕軍中所用長戟而寢。

至二鼓、帳鉤聲鏗然、有長身而白衣者、垂大腹、障床面。燭光青泠。將軍起、厲聲喝之、怪退行三步、燭光爲之一明照、見頭面儼然俗所畫方相神也。將軍拔戟刺之、怪閃身于梁、再刺再走、逐入一夾道中、隱不復見。

將軍還房、覺有尾之者。回目之、此怪微笑躡其後。將軍大怒、罵曰、世那得有此皮臉怪耶。衆家丁起、各持兵仗來、怪復退走、過夾道入一空房。見沙飛塵起、簇簇有聲、似其醜類共來格鬬者、怪至中堂挺然立、作負嵎狀。家丁相視、無敢前、將軍愈怒、手刺以戟正中其腹。膨亨有聲、其身面不復見矣、但有兩金眼在壁上、大如銅盤、光睒睒射人。衆家丁各以刀擊之、化爲滿房火星、初大、後小、以至于滅。終不知何怪.

Tszĕ puh yü, chapter 1.

in a lesser degree. Servants and underlings of mandarins draw some income from the sale of both kinds, either directly from the people, or through shopkeepers. Name-cards of mandarins, impresses of their seals, and waste letter-covers which bear such impresses, in particular those of Viceroys and other first rank dignitaries, and of Provincial Chief Judges, are likewise highly prized for use in the said manners, and are, moreover, burned to ashes for patients to drink with water. One seal-impress is considered indispensable by many at every marriage to ensure felicity to the couple for all their lives, and then should be carried by the bride in her pocket or dress while being transported to the home of the bridegroom. Poor people who cannot afford to buy such genuine refuse from a Yamen, content themselves with that of teachers or other less distinguished members of the learned class. These men are also often requested to draw circles of cinnabar ink round pustules and ulcers, wherewith in unclean China people, and children in particular, are commonly troubled. And finally people make much use in similar ways and for similar ends of pencils and bits of manuscript of schoolboys, and red circles made by them, in the comfortable conviction that spectres are intimidated as much by prospective graduates and mandarins as by complete dignitaries.

Indeed, that the spectral world, in fearing and avoiding men, virtually anticipates their future greatness, thereby showing a power of foresight, is taught by books on many a page. We read for instance in the Standard History of the Sung dynasty the following lines about Wang Tan [1], who obtained the tsin-shi degree in 980, and later on became a Minister of State: "When he became "prefect of the district of P'ing-kiang, the mansion there had been "for a long time haunted by spectres which possessed and worried "the inmates, so that rest and peace were frequently disturbed. "But in the evening before Tan's arrival the guard heard the "spectres whistle and exclaim, 'A Minister is coming, we must be "off'. And from that moment the trouble ceased." [2] We have read on pp. 767 *seq.*, in a narrative from a book of the twelfth century, of a man whose future greatness in official service was anticipated

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[1] 王旦.

[2] 知平江縣、其廨舊傳有物怪憑戾居、多不寧。旦將至前夕守吏聞群鬼嘯呼云、相君至矣、當避去。自是遂絶. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 282, l. 7.

by the ugly denizens of the spectral world, and who consequently assailed them with surprising success. And further we may quote from the writings of Sui Yuen the following tale, which is to the same effect:

"In the last year of the reign of the Ming dynasty (1644), the "son of one Chang in the Hwang-kang department of Hukwang "was very ill, and his mind was disturbed by spectres. No sooner "did one spectre come near him than the whole mob of them hurried to "the spot, begging for food and paper money at the housedoor in "disorderly crowds. Once it chanced that Liu Koh-yiu, the Master, "opened the gate and walked in. All the spectres were seized with "fright; 'there is the chung-yuen' (highest among the tsin-shi "graduates), they cried with one voice, 'we must get out of his "way'; but an old spectre which fled with the rest, having turned "its head, cried in derision, 'A chung-yuen without a hat of "gauze; why need we fear him?' At the same moment the patient "became better. Nobody at that time understood the meaning of "that exclamation; and not until Liu took the chung-yuen "degree under the dynasty which now occupies the throne, did "that mocking remark of the old spectre became thoroughly intel-"ligible" [1]. That is to say, hats of gauze belonged to the costume of high literary graduates under the Ming dynasty, but were abolished by the present House, which dethroned it.

As we may expect, persons pre-destined by the Tao to found a dynasty have been respected and feared by spectres more than any. When Kao Tsu, the founder of the short-lived house of Han in the tenth century, "was still commander of the Body Guard, "one Wu, living next-door to his official residence, had a beautiful "daughter, who was wont to wear blue garments and was under the "influence of a hill-siao. This spectre could speak the human tongue, "and used to throw tiles and stones about, so that the soldiers "lacked courage to pass Wu's house; but the (future) emperor did

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[1] 明末湖廣黃岡州張某之子疾重、爲鬼所迷。一鬼既至、羣鬼皆集、索飯索紙錢者紛集於門。適劉克猷先生推門而入。群鬼驚曰、狀元來了、我輩且避、一老鬼走矣、回頭笑曰、沒紗帽戴的狀元、吾何懼哉。病人恰愈。衆人不解、後劉中本朝狀元方悟老鬼之揶揄也. Supplementary *Tszĕ puh yü*, chapter 4.

"so, and — the spectres did nothing, only however to recommence "their operations as soon as the emperor was gone. When this "occurred a second time, some one said to the spectre, 'Spirit, why "did you keep quiet just now when that stranger appeared?' And "the spectre said, 'he is a grandee'. From that moment he was "regarded in the army as a prodigy." [1]

It may be considered a matter of course that the conviction that mandarins and scholars derive from their dignity exorcising power and immunity from spectral evil endows them with an amount of self-reliance and boldness which is calculated to increase their anti-spectral propensities. Their underlings and the common people, too, when under their protection, may face and brave spectres with impunity, and, if armed with their special order or authorisation, may even attack those beings, and at any rate do many a thing which under other circumstances they would prefer not to attempt. Here we have another principal reason, in addition to those which we have given on page 866 of Book I, why people will not presume to touch neglected graves of others even with the benevolent intention of repairing them, except with explicit official consent.

But in order to enjoy immunity from spectral evil and even prevail over spectres, it is amply sufficient to walk in the path of orthodox virtue, that is to say, in the Tao or Way of Man, which is the ethics preached by the Order of the Universe by means of the Classics. He who does so is just as normal, right, and correct (ching or twan) as those holy books themselves, and therefore just as capable of expelling demons; as an exorcist he is on a par with students and scholars. He is a man of "righteousness" or chih 直, a term synonymous with ching, which means moving in the course or path of undeviating rectitude. Thus it was that the prefect Tu Yen-fan, a man explicitly declared to be ching and chih, could, with exorcising intent, seat himself with impunity

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[1] 漢高祖爲侍衞、所居官舍之鄰吳氏有青衣佳娘者、爲山魈所魅。鬼能人言而投瓦石、鄰伍無敢過吳氏之舍者、帝過之、其鬼寂然、帝去、如故。如是者再、或謂鬼曰、爾既神向者客來又何寂然。鬼曰、彼大人者。繇是軍中異之. Old History of the Five Dynasties, ch. 110, l. 3. See also the *Ch'eh fu yuen kwei*, ch. 21, l. 25.

cross-legged amidst a horde of assailing spectres (see p. 473). And Sung Ta-hien, "a man who had been walking in the correct or normal Tao" (see p. 595), likewise owed to this fact his supremacy over spectres. And, as a third example, we may here refer to the worthy man whom self-cultivated virtue allowed to swallow a terrible "gold caterpillar", without any inconvenience (p. 856). The famous Poem of the Breaths of Rectitude (p. 1014), according to established opinion, owes its anti-spectral power principally to the many names of men imbued with natural virtue, who are mentioned in it. No wonder that Chinese to-day are always ready to believe and assert that there is living in the empire many a worthy so thoroughly saturated with standard virtue that no spectres dare show themselves within a compass of several miles round his august person, in consequence of which the family, village or town which enjoys the possession of such a paragon is bound to flourish miraculously.

Such highly endowed "scare spectres" have lived in China from very early times. As we read in the Standard History of the Tsin dynasty, "there were spectres in the house of Kao Li, discussions "and noise of voices being heard there, and missiles thrown, without "human shape being seen anywhere within or without. Sometimes "utensils and things moved spontaneously; fire broke out repeatedly; "and though Wu-ist priests tried to restrain the evil by repress-"ive measures, they were utterly unable to put an end to it. It "chanced at that time that Hing Ling wished to go thither. When "still at the end of the street with the house in the distance, he "said to Kao Li, 'Is that yours?' and being answered that it was, "he said, 'I know enough of it'. Kao Li bade him enter with so "much insistance that Ling was constrained to walk to the door, "where, observing the numerous charms and cords, he said to Kao: "'Sié must be stopped by means of tsing', and told him to "burn those things. He then sat down for a short while against "the lattice window, and thereupon went away; and that night "the operations of the spectres ceased." [1]

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[1] 時高悝家有鬼怪、言語訶叱投擲、內外不見人形。或器物自行、再三發火、巫祝厭劾而不能絕。適值幸靈乃要之。靈於陌頭望其屋、謂悝曰、此君之家邪、悝曰、是也、靈曰、知之足矣。悝固請之、靈不得已至門、見符索甚多、謂悝曰、當

A high place among the favoured beings, who individually possess and exercise special power over the spectral world, has, of course, been occupied in all ages by an extensive class of men who have been striving all their lives to obtain, by means of bodily and mental discipline, longevity and immortality by absorption in the Tao. Such Taoists by profession, called tao jen[1] or "men of the Tao", or tao shi[2], "doctors of the Tao", occur indeed, as our readers may have observed on many pages, with remarkable frequency in Chinese writings as exorcising magicians, and as specialists in the knowledge of the mysteries of the spectral world[3]. Under their sacerdotal leadership, the Taoist religion has, as we have cursorily noted on page 931, become a system devoted almost in the main to exorcism, practised principally by means of the shen or gods of light, which in the system of the Universe constitute the powers diametrically opposed to the kwei. It goes without saying that the priestly magic of these men, by means of which those gods are set to work against the spectres, naturally enhances the fear and respect which spectres entertain for them. In their hands, exorcism is actually a part of the white magic practised by Taoism for the good of man.

With obvious frequency also we have seen in this work that the exorcising profession is exercised by the class of wu. The existence of these animistic priests may be traced in China's records to a much higher antiquity than that of "Taoist men" and "Taoist doctors". They are indebted for their exorcising propensities fundamentally to the circumstance that they are occasionally possessed by shen, in which state they are gods or spirits themselves; but the reader will find the particulars hereof in the next Part of this Book.

And along with the wu and the Taoists, the Buddhist priesthood stands prominent in matters of exorcism. Indeed, devotees of Buddhist salvation also move by religious discipline in a Tao or Way up to a state of perfection comparable with absorption into the great Universe, a state which they call Nirvāṇa and conceive to be Universal Nothingness. And, like their Taoist colleagues, by means of

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以正止邪、並使焚之。惟據軒小坐而去、其夕鬼怪卽絶. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 95, l. 18. As this Standard History was compiled in the epoch of T'ang, this tale was probably borrowed from T'ao Ts'ien's *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 2; or from its edition in two chapters, II.

[1] 道人. [2] 道士.

3 See *e. g.* pp. 472, 583 *seq*, 593, 595, 606, 640, 655, 227, 1147.

invocation, worship, sacrifice and magic they employ their gods of light, whom they call Buddhas, in the struggle against the world of Māras or spectres. Their power over spectres we have already seen illustrated by Chinese authors on pp. 578 *seq.*, 590, 591 *seq.*, and it will, of course, be an object of frequent attention in our Book on Buddhism.

The close connection which, as we have learned, exists in China between disease and demoniacal possession or obsession, actually blending the exorcising and the medical art into one branch of magic, explains why Taoist doctors and w u are so generally described as physicians and dispensers of medicines, amulets, and charms. Conversely, the virtue of leeches in expelling spectres may be so great, that spectres lodging within the sick take fright at their mere approach (cf. p. 678). We have then here in this Chapter to rank the practitioners of the medical profession on a par with mandarins, scholars, priests. The excellence of their medicines has sometimes been attested by panics, called forth among spectres by their presence. We have seen this instanced on pp. 1076 and 1088, and may, moreover, refer to the following case mentioned in a book of the T'ang dynasty: "One Hoh Kung-king had been out in "Mount T'ai to gather drugs, and afterwards passed a spectre-seer "in the bazaar, who felt astonished at the fact that all spectres "took to flight on perceiving Kung-king. This revelation induced "him to make mixtures of those drugs in the form of spectre-"killing balls, which cured all patients who consumed them." [1]

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[1] 郝公景於泰山採藥、經市過有見鬼者、怪群鬼見公景皆走避之。遂取藥和爲殺鬼丸、有病患者服之差. *Chao yé kien tsai*, quoted in K K, ch. 218.

CHAPTER XXI.

SPECTRE-SEERS.

Since the possession of a strong, exquisite s h e n not only imparts power over spectres, but also is identical with acuteness of mind and intelligence, and with high development of the senses of perception, spectre-expellers of great attainments have a sight of extraordinary sharpness, a second sight, enabling them to see spectres which ordinary people cannot see.

We find indeed that medical exorcists of a high order are described as seers of this kind. Such was the case with Hwan and Li Tszĕ-yü (pp. 678 and 679), as also with Sü Chi-ts^{c}ai of the sixth century, a most famous leech of whom the following incident is related: "A man was suffering from a painful swelling in his "heels, and no physician could explain the case, until Sü Chi-ts^{c}ai "declared it to be a disease caused by oyster-spirits, the patient "having had his legs dangling in the water from a ship while "putting to sea. The patient avowed that this had indeed occurred; "Chi-ts^{c}ai therefore cut open his heels, and found two oysters "therein, of the size of elm-seeds." [1]

The ability to see spectres is an attribute of exorcists in general; we may here refer to Fei Ch^{c}ang-fang (see p. 582) and other heroes of narratives inserted in this Volume and the preceding. It therefore stands to reason that to see spectres means to conquer them; and so, as our Chapter IX, which treats the exorcising power of mirrors, has shown in particular, the danger of being discovered is to spectres a powerful inducement to flee. Besides mirrors, some other things may render them visible; but, unhappily, these are no longer alto-

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[1] 有人患脚跟腫痛、諸醫莫能識、徐之才曰、蛤精疾也、由乘船入海垂脚水中。疾者曰、實曾如此、之才爲剖、得蛤子二、大如榆莢. History of the North, ch. 90, l. 5; also Books of the Northern Ts^{c}i Dynasty, ch. 33, l. 6.

gether within human reach. The *T'ung ming ki*, the book of the beginning of our era, to which we owe also the oldest information about spectre-detecting mirrors (cf. page 1000), says, that in the year 99 before our era the emperor Wu convoked a meeting of magicians and learned men, at which Tung Fang-soh spoke as follows: "I made a journey to the north pole, and came to a "mountain planted with fire, which neither the sun, nor the moon "ever illumines, but which is lighted to its uttermost bounds by a "blue dragon by means of a torch which it holds in its jaws. "I found in that mountain gardens, fields, and parks with ponds, all "studded with strange trees and curious plants, and with shrubs "which had luminiferous stalks, seeming at night to be lamps of "gold. These stalks could be broken off and used as torches, in the "light of which the spectres were visible. Ning-fung, the immortal, "had always eaten this plant, the consequence being that in the "darkness of the night there beamed light out of his belly. It is "called the herb which pierces darkness.' The emperor ordered this "herb to be chopped up, and a plaster to be made of it, and the "Yun-ming building to be daubed therewith; and when sitting "there at night, he could actually dispense with lamps or torches. "It was also called the spectre-lighting plant. Shoes made of plaits "of it were impervious to water." [1]

Koh Hung, the great Taoist patriarch, knew an even better method, quite within human reach, of discovering spectres and thereby scaring them away. The Taoists of his time, he says, did not confine themselves to the use of "celestial water charms" and "bamboo commissions from the Supreme Emperor" (see p. 1036), nor to writings from which the names of spectres might be learnt (see page 1125); but they also swallowed "medicine balls prepared of red stones obtained from quail's eggs" [2], and "pills made of onion

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[1] 臣遊北極、至種火之山、日月所不照、有青龍銜燭火以照山之四極。亦有園圃池苑、皆植異木異草、有明莖草、夜如金燈。折枝爲炬、照見鬼物之形。仙人甯封常服此草、於夜冥時轉見腹光通外。亦名洞冥草。帝令剉此草爲泥、以塗雲明之館、夜坐此館不加燈燭。亦名照魅草。以藉足履水不沉. Chapter 3.

[2] 鶉子赤石丸.

seeds and crow's eyes" [1], and yet other minced substances, "all which enabled men to see spectres, so that these feared them" [2]. Crow's eyes in particular seem to have been deemed useful. Chᶜen Tsang-khi states, "that when swallowed, they confer the capacity to "see mei, and if the eyes be moistened with a solution of the "powder in water, they are enabled to see spectres at night." [3] Undoubtedly China's magicians and exorcists have in all ages possessed many more things which afford second sight. According to Twan Chᶜing-shih, a man may become a ghost-seer by drinking the blood of a fei-fei (see page 508). Medical and other works mention numerous plants which, when eaten, impart that same faculty; and, of course, we find among these plants many which are strongly animated, therefore capable of reinforcing the soul or the senses.

Spectre-seers, so useful in China as discoverers of the real character of diseases, are also able to see hidden things from which dangers and misfortunes emanate. These things are endlessly various, nothing in the Universe being inanimate and consequently unable to cause ill; they may, as we know, be corpses or bones of animals, or plants, images, etc., and be hidden on purpose by sorcerers (cf. pp. 908 *sqq.*). Narratives about discoveries of such things are numerous. "One Wang Teh-jiu, who dwelt in Yih-tu in Tsᶜing-cheu (in Shan-"tung pr.), had built a house by the north wall of the city, and "when it was finished, hundreds of spectres came forth all at "once, appearing and disappearing in broad daylight in smoke and "vapours and in the herbage, in the shape of spirits with bird-"like faces.

"He called in Taoist magicians to perform their magic, but the "attempts of these men to catch the spectres or bring them to "reason were ineffective. Then a dog-butcher, who answered to the "name of Fan Wu, went to the house quite alone, and passed the "night there. At midnight a person jumped out of the ground in "the side-gallery on the west, a dwarf with a short neck, clad in a "red dress, corpulent, plump and round. Clasping his hands, he sang

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[1] 葱實烏眼丸.

[2] 皆令人見鬼、卽鬼畏之矣. *Pao Pᶜoh-tszě*, ch. 4, sect. 17, 登涉.

[3] 吞之令人見諸魅、或研汁注目中、夜能見鬼. *Pen-tsᶜao kang muh*, ch. 49, l. 11.

"and gesticulated in the courtyard; but Fan Wu ran after him, sword "in hand, into the south-eastern corner, where the being vanished. "Fan Wu marked the spot, dug up the ground there next morning, "and found a dry crab. He threw this beast into the water, and "from that time the house was in the best condition." [1]

The making of such discoveries is to this hour professional work of possessed mediums, whom we will depict engaged in such business in Chapter IV of the next Part of this Book.

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[1] 青州益都人王德柔營新第於北郭、既成百怪交興、白晝出沒烟氛蓊蔚之中、神形鳥面。邀道術者施法、攝治不效。有屠狗范五、獨往宿。夜半西廡下一人從地湧出、短身縮項、著朱衣、形體充腯。兩手相擊歌舞庭下、范握刀逐之、至東南隅失所在。因記其處、明旦發土壤、獲一枯蟹。投諸水、其後帖然. *Ts'ing-cheu-fu chi* 青州府志, Memoirs concerning the Department of Ts'ing-cheu; quoted in T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 162.

CHAPTER XXII.

HISTORICAL AND MYTHICAL SPECIALISTS IN EXORCISM.

Millions of exorcists have in the long course of ages lived and died on Chinese soil, but only a few have survived in literature or tradition as paragons outvieing all the rest in capacity and power. Their feats, embellished and exaggerated, and rarely disbelieved, have occupied the minds of every generation, and are well known to this day.

Among those whom men of erudition know best as exorcists and spectre-seers of extraordinary attainments, is Fei Ch'ang-fang [1], a Taoist of the Han dynasty, whose powers and achievements are perpetuated by Standard History of his time. His feats, as mentioned therein, we have reproduced on pp. 582 and 622. And we have stated on page 1034 that he owed his endowments to a charm which an unknown worthy of great age gave him, and that, as he had the misfortune to lose this treasure, the spectres seized their opportunity and killed him. Thus it is evident to all China that even those whom spectres dread most are not unconditionnally beyond their power.

Another famous exorcist in the age of Han, likewise honoured with a place in Standard History, was Sheu Kwang-heu [2], of whom we have mentioned on pp. 629, 655 and 1029 everything which that source has to tell. Immortalized by Standard History also is Ming Ch'ung-yen [3] of the seventh century, who, as we have seen on page 1030, by means of a charm ordered a dragon to descend from the sky and deliver up its own liver as a medicine for a patient. This magician has in the same manner called down a dragon which by its mere appearance put a stop to the music made by an invisible underground band (see page 1029). He learned the art of "employing evoked k w e i and s h e n" [4] from a y a m e n servant

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1 費長房. 2 壽光侯.
3 明崇儼. 4 役召鬼神.

of his father, who was a district prefect. Ming Ch'ung-yen was a great favourite of the emperor Kao Tsung, to whom he revealed all sorts of secrets relating to the administration of the state, and who therefore created him a Censor. He was murdered in 679, either by the spectres whom he had so often persecuted and deeply offended, or by order of a crown-prince whom his influence and machinations had caused the emperor to exclude from succession to the throne. [1]

But these three renowned exorcists with the other exorcising wu and Taoist doctors whom China has produced, are altogether of less interest than a few whose power and feats have given birth to lasting and important exorcising customs and usages. We allude here in the first place to the mythical brothers Shen-t'u and Yuh-lei, the solar myth concerning whom, and the part which they play to this day in Chinese life we have described in Chapter IV. We may mention here the existence of another solar myth bearing upon the destruction of spectres, though we are not aware of any customs and practices created by it; it may likewise be of ancient date, though we have not found it in any work older than the *Shen i king*, ascribed to the fourth or the fifth century of our era. "In the east and the south there is a person who perambulates "throughout the world under heaven. He is seven chang in size, "and the volume of his belly is equal to his length. On his head "he bears the father of fowls and an 'ugly mask'. He wears a red "dress with a girdle of white silk. A red snake, the tail of which "is connected with its head, is curled round his forehead. He does "not drink, he does not eat, but swallows three thousand evil "spectres in the morning, and three hundred of those beings in "the evening; spectres are the food of this man, and dew is the "broth which he drinks. His name is Ch'ih-kwoh; another name "is Sié-eater, for, according to the Taoists, he swallows sié spec- "tres. One of his names is Red Hwang-fu. Nowadays there exist "hwang-fu spectres." [2]

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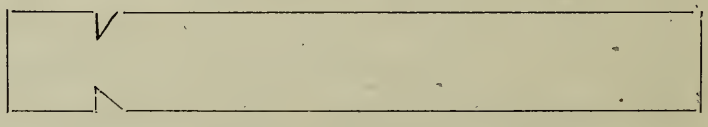
1 Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 191, l. 10; New Books, ch. 204, l. 9.

2 東南方有人焉、周行天下。身長七丈、腹圍如其長。頭戴雞爻魍頭。朱衣縞帶。以赤蛇繞額、尾合於頭。不飲不食、朝吞惡鬼三千、暮吞三百、此人以鬼爲飯、以露爲漿。名曰尺郭、一名食邪、道師云吞邪鬼。一名赤黃爻。今世有黃爻鬼.

Evidently, this red spectrophagous being who is just as broad as tall, and travels through the world from the east and the south, where the sun rises and ascends, and bears a cock or solar bird upon its disk, is the god of day himself who absorbs the morning dew, and devours spectres of darkness in numbers especially large when he rises, but in more modest quantities in the evening when his light decays. It is characteristical to see him described as a bearer of an "ugly mask", which, as we have seen on page 1152, was part of exorcising costume. But by far the most curious solar exorcist is an object of jade, which rulers in ancient China used in sun-worship, and afterwards was transformed into a man known as Chung-khwei, whose name, as we have seen on page 1044, is to this day a very powerful element in written charms. His origin has greatly puzzled Chinese savants, and yet they have solved its mystery sagaciously and in a manner apparently correct. We find it in the thirty-second chapter of the great collection of treatises of general scientific interest, known as *Jih chi luh*, composed by Ku Yen-wu in the seventeenth century. The honour of having found the solution may, however, belong to earlier writers whose names we have not been able as yet to discover.

In a description of the functions of certain "Comptrollers of signets or badges of jade" [1], contained in the *Cheu li*, we read, that "the "Sovereign, while worshipping the sun in the morning (at the equinox "of spring), wore in his girdle a large kwei, and had in his hands "a kwei of dominion" [2]. This large kwei, according to the Khienlung edition of that ancient book [3], was a piece of jade shaped like this figure  for it is stated in another part of the *Cheu li*, which refers to certain "Keepers of the articles of jade" [4], that "the large kwei was "three chʿih in length, and had a chung-khwei head above "the place where it tapered away" [5].

It is to this head of that badge, which the most powerful man

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1 典瑞.

2 王晉大圭、執鎮圭、以朝日. Chapter 20, l. 34.

3 Chapter 45, l. 47.

4 玉人.

5 大圭長三尺、杼上終葵首. Chapter 43, l. 18.

and exorcist of the State used to carry while worshipping the universal devil-destroying god of light on the actual equinox when this god defeats darkness and its powers, that our Chung-khwei owes his origin. According to Ching Khang-ch'ing, "a chung-khwei means a hammer" [1], and Kia Kung-yen states "that the term was the vernacular expression denoting a hammer among the people of Ts'i" [2].

This theory does not explain why the name of the god has assumed in writing the form 鍾馗; but we observe, that in the second character of this binomium the component 首 or "head" occurs, representing perhaps the 終葵首 or "chung-khwei head", mentioned by the *Cheu li*. Certainly it is not inadmissible that, as such hammers were borne in sun-worship, they have been carried also by people among other arms, nay in preference to all others, in their war against demons of darkness, for instance in the old no processions. It also is comprehensible that many a child should have been endowed by its parents with the name Chung-khwei, in order that spectres might keep aloof. We find indeed, that in the two or three centuries antecedent to the T'ang dynasty several bearers of that name are mentioned in literature. Ku Yen-wu draws attention to no less than eight whose names were written 鍾葵, and two cases in which it was 鍾馗; [3] and we thus see here before us a transition from the old form of khwei to the modern. That author also draws attention to the fact, that in the *Tso ch'wen*, in the record of events of the fourth year of the reign of Ting (506 b. C.), one 終葵 is mentioned; which might point to a high antiquity of that choice in name-giving. All doubt whether those persons were really named after the devil-expelling hammer or the spirit then already personifying that instrument seems to vanish before the historical statement that one of them bore, besides the name Chung-khwei, that of P'ih-sié [4] or "Expulsion of spectral Evil".

That person was one Yao Hüen [5], a strategist and military commander in the service of the Wei dynasty, able and brave, a favourite of his sovereign until his death in 495. His short biographies in the History of the North [6] and in the Books of the Wei Dynasty [7]

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1 終葵椎也. Khienlung edition, *ibid.*

2 齊人謂椎爲終葵. *Ibid.*

3 They are also mentioned by Chao Yih in a treatise on the same subject, inserted in the *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 35, ll. 22 *sqq.*

4 辟邪. 5 姚暄.

6 Chapter 27, l. 25. 7 Chapter 42, l. 14.

do not contain, however, the slightest reference to exorcising capacities which he may have possessed, nor to any exorcising work performed by him; and yet, evidently on account of nothing but his name, tradition has identified him with our famous exorcist. It may be suggested that dramatic art was the main cause of this; indeed, to this day Chung-khwei plays a part of importance on the stage. Yao Hüen then may be the man who, by reason of the name he bore, has transformed the jade badge of sun-worship into a devil-expelling human soul.

Tradition also states, that Chung-khwei was a human being who lived more than a hundred years after Yao Hüen. It expresses itself in the following tale, which we have not found in any writings earlier than those of Ch'en Kwah, which are of the eleventh century and which we mentioned on page 981 of Book I:

"In the forbidden Imperial Palace there was a portrait of Chung-"khwei, painted by Wu Tao-tszĕ. This painted scroll bore in the "upper margin an inscription by the hand of a man who lived "under the T'ang dynasty, which read as follows: 'In the Khai "yuen period (713—742) the emperor Ming had been to Li-shan, "to impart instructions about military matters; and when he with "his blue state umbrellas had returned to the Palace, he felt unwell. "He suffered from fever for more than a month, and wu and "physicians exhausted all their arts upon him without bringing him "any relief. Then one evening he dreamed of two spectres, a tall "one and a tiny one. The latter was dressed in red clothes, had "a snout like a calf, one foot shod, and the other bare; the other "shoe hung down from its body, and in its girdle it had stuck a "large fan of bamboo paper. It snatched away a gold-embroidered "red smelling satchel and the emperor's flute of jade, and ran about "with those things through the hall. The tall spectre wore a hat, "and a skirt or petticoat of a deep blue or green colour; it had "one arm naked, and had boots on both its legs; it seized the small "spectre, plucked out its eyes, tore it to pieces, and devoured it. "'Who are you?' asked the emperor. And its answer was: 'I am "your servant Chung-khwei, a warrior who did not succeed in "obtaining a military rank; I have pledged an oath to avert from "Your Majesty all spectral evil which exists in this world'.

"The emperor awoke from his dream; his fever was gone, and "he felt his strength return. He called the painter Wu Tao-tszĕ, "related the dream he had had, and said, 'Try to paint that being "for me as I have dreamt it'. On this imperial order Wu Tao-tszĕ

"conjured up the being in his mind and immediately sketched it, "and when he had the portrait ready, he took it to his lord. The "emperor contemplated it for a while, tapped on the table, and "said, 'You must have had the same dream as myself, how else "could the likeness be so excellent!' Feeling so satisfied, he rewarded "him with a hundred gold coins, and he wrote, 'The powerful "spirit who has by a dream completely cured my illness, the loyal "warrior who has removed that spectral evil from me, certainly "deserves praise and reward. His pictures represent him differently; "therefore let this one be exhibited to the officers, in order that it "may be known all around, when evil is to be driven away at the "end of the year, as a means by which the sié and mei may be "expelled and spectral influences laid. Be it moreover proclaimed "throughout the empire that everybody shall impart the knowledge "of this to others'." [1]

A somewhat different reading of this tale is given by Chao Yih, with the statement that he has borrowed it from another source: "The emperor Ming, while suffering from fever, was sleeping in "the daytime, and dreamed that a tiny spectre snatched his gold-"embroidered smelling satchel and his flute of jade. The emperor

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[1] 禁中舊有吳道子畫鍾馗。其卷首有唐人題記曰、明皇開元講武驪山、幸翠傘還宮、上不懌。因痁作將踰月、巫醫殫伎、不能致瘥。忽一夕夢二鬼、一大、一小。其小者衣絳、犢鼻、屨一足、跣一足、懸一屨、撝一大筠紙扇。竊太眞紫香囊、及上玉笛、遶殿而奔。其大者戴帽、衣藍裳、袒一臂、靴雙足、乃捉其小者、刳其目、然後擘而啖之。上問大者曰、爾何人也。奏云、臣鍾馗氏、卽武舉不捷之士也、誓與陛下除天下之妖孽。

夢覺、痁苦頓瘳而體益壯。乃詔畫工吳道子、告之以夢曰、試爲朕如夢寫之。道子奉旨、恍若有覩、立筆、圖訖以進。上瞠視久之、撫几曰、是卿與朕同夢耳、何肖若此哉。上大悅、勞之百金、批曰、靈祇應夢厥疾全瘳、烈士除妖實須稱奬。因圖異狀須顯有司、歲暮驅除可宣徧識、以祛邪魅兼靜妖氛。仍告天下悉令知委. *Pu pih t'an*, 26.

"asked it who it was. 'I am Hi-hao', it said; 'I can ruin people, "and convert their pleasures into sorrow'. The emperor flew into "a passion and was on the point of calling his warriors, when his "eye fell upon a large spectre with a hat, a deep blue gown, "a girdle, and court-boots, which seized the spectre, plucked out "its eyes, tore it to pieces, and devoured it. 'Who are you?' asked "the emperor; and the answer was: 'I am a literary graduate of "the highest rank from Tsung-nan, named Chung-khwei; in the "Wu teh period (618—627) I was not promoted to the rank "which I deserved, and therefore committed suicide by knocking "my head against the stone steps; I then received from the emperor "a green gown to wear in the grave, and therefore in gratitude "swore that I would thenceforth remove from the emperors illness "and evil caused by Hi-hao'. On these words the emperor awoke "from his dream, and his disease was cured. He then ordered Wu "Tao-tszĕ to paint a portrait of that being. Wu Tao-tszĕ by burying "himself in reflection called the said being up before his mind, "made the portrait, and presented it to the emperor. No sooner "had the emperor seen it than he said, 'You must have had the "same dream as myself'." [1]

The assurance with which an author of distinction such as Ch'en Kwah noted down this anecdote as an event of historical reality, almost forbids us to deny its historical basis. And taking into consideration how utterly enslaved to the belief in spectres and spirits the Chinese nation and its rulers have always been, and that Ming is depicted by historiographers as not the least superstitious among emperors, there remains no sufficient reason for rejecting the fact that he had such a dream, and really took his measures as a consequence of it. Be this as it may, the tale is at any rate instructive

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[1] 明皇因疝疾晝臥、夢一小鬼盜太眞香囊及上玉笛。上叱問之、奏曰、臣乃虛耗也、能耗人家喜事成憂。上怒欲呼武士、俄見一大鬼、被帽、藍袍、角帶、朝靴、捉小鬼、刳其目、擘而啖之。上問爾何人、曰、臣終南進士鍾馗也、武德中應舉不第、觸堦而死、得賜緑袍以葬、感恩發誓爲帝除虛耗妖孽之事。言訖夢覺、而疾遂瘳。乃詔吳道子畫之。道子沉思若有所覩、成圖以進。上視之曰、是卿與朕同夢也. *Kai yü ts'ung khao*, chapter 35, l. 23.

to us on various heads. Without going so far as to believe that the picture made by Wu Tao-tszĕ has been the prototype of all the portraits of Chung-khwei which have been made in ensuing ages, the tale explains why nowadays they generally represent him with a gown of a deep blue or green colour, a girdle, boots, and a hat like those which were confessedly worn by graduates or mandarins in the age of T'ang. Besides, the tale entitles us to take for granted that Chung-khwei's position as devil-destroying spirit was firmly fixed in the Chinese sphere of thought and custom as early as the T'ang dynasty, even among the Imperial family and the highest dignitaries. And in the third place we may now admit that pictures of the demon-destroyer were in that same epoch used for exorcising purposes at the beginning of the year, which, as we know, is the principal moment in Chinese life for the expulsion of evil.

It may be taken for granted that in the eleventh century they were to that end affixed to doors and gates, seeing that Ch'en Kwah then wrote, that "it was unknown from what date the "custom of painting Chung-khwei on gates and doors at the be- "ginning of the year has prevailed" [1]. He also states, that "in the "fifth year of the Hi ning period (1072) the emperor ordered "that painters should take rubbings from a board engraved with "the portrait, and he presented these to the highest ministers of "the two departments, one copy to each; and in the last night of "that same year he commissioned his Court officer Liang Khiai to "the two departments of the east and west, to give them on behalf "of His Majesty images of Chung-khwei." [2]

This bestowal of imperial bounty was no original creation of the House of Sung, for we find the statement "that it was a custom "in the age of T'ang, on the last day of the year, for the emperor "to give the ministers the new almanack together with a picture "of Chung-khwei" [3]. We note here that almanacks are devil-

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[1] 歲首畫鍾馗于門不知起自何時. *Mung khi pit t'an*, chapter 24, l. 8.

[2] 熙寧五年上令畫工摹揚鐫板印、賜兩府輔臣各一本、是歲除夜遣入內供奉官梁楷就東西府、給賜鍾馗之象. *Pu pit t'an*, 26.

[3] 唐故事歲暮賜羣臣曆日、幷畫鍾馗. TS, section 歷法, chapter 82.

expelling things (see page 1022). We may further quote here the following historical incident of the tenth century. In the state of Wu and Yueh [1], which then extended over Chehkiang, Fuhkien and Kiangsu, Ts'ien Tsung [2] reigned for some months in the year 947. He had a general, named Hu Tsin-szĕ [3]. "On the last day of "that year, when the painter had offered to the Court the paintings "representing Chung-khwei in the act of knocking down spectres, "Ts'ien Tsung wrote a verse upon one of the copies, which, when "Hu Tsin-szĕ read it, made it thoroughly clear to him that Ts'ien "Tsung cherished the idea of killing him. Therefore in that same "night he assembled the soldiers of the guard, deposed Ts'ien Tsung, "confined him in the Hi-and-Hwo institute, fetched Shuh (Ts'ien "Tsung's brother), and placed him on the throne." [4]

We are unable to say in what degree the pictures of Chung-khwei, made at present, resemble the famous model which Wu Tao-tszĕ sketched. Very often painters represent him with a long beard of a fire-red colour, in allusion, we think, to his solar origin. This origin is still more clearly manifested from a custom, general in Fuhkien, of making rough portraits of him with red paint, and of doing so especially on the fifth day of the fifth month, which is the theoretical midsummer day or apex of universal spectre-killing warmth and light (cf. page 1078); these portraits, of which Plate VIII (the frontispiece of this Volume) and Plate XV are reduced specimens, are on the same date put up in houses and rooms as a protection against the disease-demons of the summer. Many people, to whom expense is no hindrance and who desire to make sure that the picture is painted on that important date, engage painters to come and do the work in their houses, preferably during the noon or w u hour, 11 a. m. to 1 p. m.; or they go to the painter's dwelling to see him do the painting at that hour, or, at least, to convince themselves that he then gives the picture the finishing touch. Not seldom, in order to assimilate the portrait thoroughly with the sun, the paint is mixed with a drop of blood drawn from an incision in the comb of a cock, such blood being,

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[1] 吳越. [2] 錢倧.

[3] 胡進思.

[4] 歲除畫工獻鍾馗擊鬼圖、倧以詩題圖上、進思見之大悟知倧將殺已。是夕擁衛兵、廢倧、囚於義和院、迎俶立之. History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 67, l. 8.

Chung-khwei devouring and trampling spectres.

as we know (Bk I, page 217), the most efficient of the exorcising ingredients obtainable from the solar bird. Some people also take a pencil and therewith dot such blood on the eyes of the portrait, knowing that the exorcising effect of his terrible look must thereby be enormously enhanced. People generally, and women in particular, if they have such a picture at home, are in the habit of faithfully burning candles and incense to it, thus worshipping it in the same way as portraits, tablets and images of saints and gods in general.

Chung-khwei plays no other part in Chinese religious life of the present day except that of a demon-expeller. I never saw a temple or chapel dedicated to his worship, though it is not rare to find his image in some inferior place in temples of other gods. His hollow image of paper and other light material, in which a man is hidden, striding along with awe-inspiring demeanour, may be seen in devil-expelling processions (pp. 980 and 985). His portraits, preferably made at the summer solstice, are suspended in rooms of fever-patients, who in China so often give utterance to delirious ravings about spectres, thus proving themselves to be tortured by those beings; or they are laid out on their beds. It is a very common practice to improve the effect of the portraits by painting beside them one or more bats which are flying downward, for as these animals are called fuh 蝠, they represent by the sound and written form of their name the idea fuh 福, "happiness", while their downward movement expresses 降福 or "descent of happiness".

In his treatise on Chung-khwei, Ch'en Kwah further states "that "in the Hwang yiu period (1049—1054) a grave was opened "in the district of Shang-yuen, belonging to the Kin-ling depart- "ment (now Nanking), and that there was therein a necrology "carved in stone (see Bk I, p. 1109), mentioning that it was the "grave of a lady Ching, mother of Tsung Kioh, general for the "subjection of the west under the Sung dynasty; that lady was "the daughter of Ching Chung, minister of Agriculture when the "House of Han occupied the throne, and Tsung Kioh had a "younger sister, named Chung-khwei" [1]. This Tsung Kioh is described

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[1] 皇祐中金陵上元縣發一塚、有石誌、乃宋征西將軍宗慤母鄭夫人墓、夫人漢大司農鄭衆女也、慤有妹、名鍾馗. *Pu pih t'an*, 26.

in history [1] as a high officer who died in A. D. 465, so that it is impossible that his maternal grandfather should have lived as early as under the Han dynasty. The accidental circumstance that there lived a woman who bore the name of the devil-destroyer, and that this woman had an elder brother, seems to have been for ages a sufficient reason for painters to make pictures of this destroyer which represent him on horseback accompanying his younger sister in her bridal procession on the way to her husband's home, in accordance with the custom, prevailing among wealthy people, of having brides at this point in the marriage ceremony escorted by their elder brothers. In such pictures, which are made to this day, the bridal sedan-chair is submissively carried by spectres as a nice illustration of the greatness of Chang-khwei's power, which can compel spectres to make themselves the slaves of brides even at a moment when, in general, they are peculiarly prone to attack these, in the hope of destroying their conjugal felicity for the whole of their lives.

No doubt Chung-khwei owes much of his reputation and popularity to the fact that the emperor Ming, one of the most famous sovereigns the nation has possessed, has recommended him and his spectre-expelling power to the mandarinate and the people with emphasis and ardour. The greatness of his fame is displayed by the fact that it has found its way into Japan, where to this day he has, under the corrupted name of Shoki, held a position in life and custom which perhaps exceeds in importance his *rôle* in China itself. In both countries equally he is a prominent character in novels, on the stage, in painting and sculpture. In Japan his images are far from having lost in all respects the features of the Chinese prototype; they represent him, indeed, as kicking spectres with his foot, sabring them, dragging them by their hair, throttling or devouring them (see Pl. XVI and Fig. 18), or dealing with them in yet other cruel and pitiless fashions such as imagination may suggest.

Health-restoring properties being ascribed in China to everything which is destructive to spectres, pictures of Chung-khwei are recommended there as effective medicines. In Li Shi-chen's standard work we read indeed, "that Chung-khwei expels sié and stops fever, "and women labouring under difficult childbirth should take in some "water the ashes of a left leg of Chung-khwei, which has been burnt. "And in cases of recurrent demoniacal fevers, two mace of ashes

1 Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 76, l. 3; History of the South, ch. 37, l. 19.

Shoki
(from a bronze in the Musée Guimet).

Fig. 18.

Shoki
(from a doll in the Musée Guimet).

"of paper on which Chung-khwei is painted should be consumed" [1], together with other ingredients mixed on the 15th day of the first month of the year, or on the 5th of the fifth month.

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[1] 鍾馗辟邪止瘧、婦人難產、鍾馗左脚燒灰水服。鬼瘧來去、畫鍾馗紙燒灰二錢. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, hapter 38, l. 15.

Since Taoism has allotted to exorcising magic a leading position in its system, it has naturally raised Lao-tszĕ, its Patriarch, to the dignity of a main source of devil-expelling power. The priests or doctors of this religion, assuming the position of bearers of his will or orders, waged their war against evil principally with spells and charms, and generally preferred, of course, spells in which his divine name occurred (cf. p. 1053), and charms which he had imparted to the world (p. 1036), or on which they had printed his seal (p. 1050 and Fig. 19). The function of Grand Exorcist he shares with another famous Patriarch of Taoism, named Chang Ling or Chang Tao-ling [1], who actually is a historical figure, a fact which cannot be unconditionally asserted of Lao-tszĕ.

Fig. 19.

Seal of Lao-tszĕ, bearing the characters 太上老君

There is in the Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms and in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty reliable evidence that the old principles of Universalism or Taoism had in the first centuries of our era given rise to a disciplined Church. This process is inseparably connected with Chang Ling's name. In the second century he founded in the region which is now called Szĕ-chʿwen, a semi-worldly state with a system of taxation, and with a religious discipline based on self-humiliation before the higher powers, confession of sins, and works of benevolence. Demonocracy played an important part in it, and he is himself described as a first-rate exorcist, a god-man able to command spectres and divinities, a thaumaturgist and compounder of elixirs of life. When he had ascended to heaven, the chieftainship of his Church passed to his son Chang Heng [2], by whose death it was transmitted to his son Chang Lu [3]; and this hierarch finally surrendered his realm in A. D. 215 to Tsʿao Tsʿao [4], whereby it was swallowed up in the empire which this hero by force of arms was then carving out for himself from the territory of the decaying House of Han, the last emperor of which was finally dethroned in 220 by Tsʿao Tsʿao's son, known in history by the name of Wen [5], emperor of the realm of Wei [6].

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1 張陵 or 張道陵. 2 張衡.
3 張魯. 4 曹操. 5 文. 6 魏.

Chang Ling's religious work evidently had expanded over the whole territory of the Han dynasty. Indeed there existed, according to the same two Standard Histories, two other religious realms with similar organisation and principles, under two hierarchs bearing the same surname, viz. Chang Siu [1] and Chang Kioh [2], the three states covering almost the whole surface of present China proper. The realm of Chang Siu is stated to have been absorbed into that of Chang Lu; but that of which Chang Kioh was the pontiff had a terribly tragic end: in A. D. 184 it was cruelly assailed by the government of Han, and, after many years of obstinate defence, destroyed in streams of blood. This episode, which marked the final downfall of the Han dynasty, is known as that of the "yellow kerchiefs" [3], on account of the headdress which the religious insurgents wore. [4]

The offspring of Chang Ling and Chang Lu in the main line have, under the title of T'ien shi [5] or "Celestial Masters", exercised to this day, from their see in the district of Kwei-khi [6] in Kiangsi province, a kind of clerical predominance, manifesting itself principally by a supremacy over the demon world, effected throughout the Empire by various means, but especially by charms and spells imparted to the Taoist clergy. We may therefore call each living Celestial Master the principal professional exorcist of the Empire. The history of that pontificate and its place in Chinese religious life will, of course, be a subject of description in our Book on Taoism. The great progenitor of their line, from whom that hierarchy of devil-expellers borrows its power and position, himself performs exorcising functions of importance to this hour. Charms and spells in which his name and title are mentioned, or which professedly are bestowed by him on the world through his successors, are highly appreciated, and very frequently employed (p. 1044). Exorcising religious ceremonies, reputed to have been instituted by him, are celebrated by the Taoist priesthood on an extensive scale, and interwoven with exorcising magic the invention of which is ascribed to him; we may instance here the medico-exorcising method described on pp. 1108 *sqq*. His portrait, as well as that of Chung-khwei,

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[1] 張修. [2] 張角. [3] 黃巾.

[4] For further particulars we refer the reader to our treatise «On the Origin of the Taoist Church» in the Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, Vol. I.

[5] 天師. [6] 貴溪縣.

is often suspended in houses and rooms, as also on outer walls, especially on the midsummer festival, which is celebrated on the 5th day of the fifth month (p. 1078). It represents him (see Fig. 19)

Fig. 19.

Chang Ling, or Chang Tao-ling.

as a black, grim-looking, awe-inspiring figure, often seated on a tiger, the typical devil-destroying monster. He brandishes a sword which he is stated to have received from heaven for the destruction of spectres, or he holds before his breast a h w u h [1], which is a tablet such as before the accession of this dynasty was carried by courtiers in the presence of the emperor, nominally for the purpose of taking notes; indeed, his eminent position of prophet, delegated by the

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[1] 笏.

Universe itself for the foundation of the Universalistic Church on earth, entitles him at all times to stand before the thrones of Heaven and Lao-tszĕ, in order to receive their commands concerning that Church, which is entrusted for ever to the pastorate of his chief lineal descendant. His painted image on paper naturally appears also among those of many divinities which, to ensure felicity by their presence, are suspended above altars on which sacrificial masses are celebrated by Wu-ist or Taoist priests. In order to scare spectres away, his portrait is also as a rule painted outside on the front of the sedan-chair in which a bride is being transported to the house of her *fiancé* for the consummation of her wedding; or it is fixed on that spot in the shape of a piece of embroidery.

PART V.

THE PRIESTHOOD OF ANIMISM.

CHAPTER I.

WU-ISM BEFORE AND DURING THE HAN PERIOD.

From very early times, or even since the night of time in which China's Animistic Religion was born, this religion may have had a priesthood, that is to say, persons of both sexes who wielded, with respect to the world of spirits, capacities and powers which were not possessed by the rest of men. A study of ancient books leads us to the conclusion that these priests, either in the main or exclusively, must have been the w u whom we have mentioned in this work many times. We have seen, that in the classical age of Cheu they armed themselves with bundles of reeds and branches of peach, to accompany their prince when paying visits of condolence in cases of death, and to perform then exorcising functions along with so-called Invokers or Conjurers (Book I, pp. 36 and 41); and they appeared in the same capacity of devil-expellers in official life in the time of Confucius (Book I, page 42).

Oldest among all documents in which these persons are mentioned, probably is the speech on the conduct of rulers, which was delivered in the 18th century before our era by the minister I-yin (see p. 1154) to T'ai-kiah of the Shang dynasty, in which we find, in the midst of many remarks of the wisest kind, these words: "The late sovereign instituted punishments for the officers, and "warned the men in authority, saying, 'If you dare to have constant "dancing in your mansions, and drunken singing in your houses, "I call it w u fashion'." [1] From this we are allowed to infer, that

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[1] 先王制官刑、儆于有位、曰敢有恆舞于宮、酣歌于室、時謂巫風. *Shu king*, the Books of Shang, section 伊訓 or "the Instructions of I".

w u were in those very early times a kind of chanting and dancing dervishes, not peculiarly esteemed by grandees and ministers.

In the age of Cheu the w u were not the only priests in existence. The book of institutions of that House, entitled *Cheu li*, acquaints us with the fact, that they shared the sacerdotal position with quite a body of officers of various ranks and grades, who were charged with the maintenance of the Rites and Ceremonies (l i), among which those of the Religion of the State or the dynasty were the principal. The description of the functions of these officers fills one section of the six into which the *Cheu li* is divided, namely the third, entitled "Officers of Spring" [1], certainly one of the richest sources of information on ancient religious matters. Under the direction of a Minister, entitled T a t s u n g p o h [2] or Superintendent of the Ancestry, and two S i a o t s u n g p o h [3] or Subintendents of the Ancestry, those officers had to direct the erection and conservation of the temples and altars of the State and the mausolea and tombs of the reigning House, furthermore, the celebration of sacrifices with music and dances, victims and implements, besides the funeral rites in the royal family, divination and auguration, etc. This ministerial department was undeniably a priesthood of Universal Animism, the gods whose worship they had to maintain and regulate being the s h e n which animate Heaven and Earth and their constituent parts and phenomena, as also the spirits of the dead. This official priesthood was, according to the Chinese, the prototype of the Ministries of Rites and Ceremonies which were entrusted with the administration of the State Religion under later dynasties to this day, so that we shall have again to pay attention to them in our treatises on that main part of China's religious system. It was a priesthood different from that of the w u since it was an official creation, and not, like the latter, a spontaneous product of the animistic religion of the people itself. We are not, however, for that reason justified in neglecting the important third section of the *Cheu li*, for it contains a few pages with very valuable information about w u of both sexes, who were employed in the State Religion. It is remarkable to see the *Cheu li* itself state that these priests and priestesses belonged to the lowest class of officials, so that we hear from this source also, which was

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[1] 春官. [2] 大宗伯.
[3] 小宗伯.

written much later than the *Shu king*, of the slight estimation in which they were held: —

"Wu of both sexes, in indefinite numbers; their masters (shi) "are four ordinary officers of the middle rank; with two store-"keepers, four writers, four adjutants, and forty serfs.[1] — The "male wu are bound to turn their faces to the sacrifices and the "invited spirits, and to supply the exclamations wherewith to call "(the latter) from all sides while waving long grass. In winter "(when spectres predominate), they eject (evil) from the halls, and "perform the same task all around, without calculation (of direc-"tions or distances). In spring they call (gods, or felicity), and "avert (demons, or evil), thus warding off diseases. And when the "Sovereign pays a visit of condolence, they walk before him with "the Invokers or Conjurers."[2]

"And the female wu are directed to perform exorcism at fixed "times annually, using ablutions with aromatics. In times of drought "they perform dances or gestures during the sacrifices for rain. "When the Sovereign's consort pays a visit of condolence, they walk "before her with the (female) Invokers or Conjurers. And at every "great calamity in the kingdom they entreat (the gods or spirits), "chanting and wailing."[3]

Besides, the *Cheu li* contains rescripts for certain "Directors of "the wu, that is, two ordinary officers of the middle rank, who "had one store-keeper, one writer, one adjutant, and ten serfs.[4] "They have to maintain the rescripts concerning all the wu. When "there prevails a great drought in the realm, they take the lead "of the wu to make them dance at the sacrifices for rain. And "when the kingdom is visited by a great calamity, they perform "the old and customary Wu-ist practices at the head of the wu.

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[1] 男巫無數、女巫無數、其師中士四人、府二人、史四人、胥四人、徒四十人. Ch. 17, l. 28.

[2] 男巫掌望祀望衍、授號、旁招以茅。冬堂贈、無方無算。春招弭、以除疾病。王弔則與祝前. Ch. 25, ll. 38 *seq.*

[3] 女巫掌歲時祓除釁浴。旱暵則舞雩。若王后弔則與祝前。凡邦之大災歌哭而請. Ch. 25, l. 40.

[4] 司巫中士二人、府一人、史一人、胥一人、徒十人. Ch. 17, l. 27.

"At sacrifices they provide the boxes with the soul-tablets, the "druggets for the roads, and the boxes with the straw mats. At "sacrifices generally they see to the burial (of the offerings). And at "funeral rites they are charged with the Wu-ist rites by which the "soul descends." [1]

Although there are some slight variances between commentators who have sharpened their wits on the explanation of these passages, we must acknowledge that they constitute a very valuable account of the functions of these priests and priestesses. We now know indeed, that they exorcised spirits of evil and illness, also at royal visits of condolence, and that they performed sacerdotal functions at sacrifices, calling down the gods or human spirits to whom these were presented. At the altars raised to pray and sacrifice for rain, the priestesses, representing the Yin or female part of the Universal Order, to which clouds and water belong, performed dances; and when disasters prevailed, they conjured the gods by means of chants expressive of grief and distress. Those dances arrest our attention. They suggest indeed that the w u were nothing else than what we might call the Chinese ramification of a large class of priests ot both sexes which is distributed over several parts of Asia under a variety of names, such as shaman in Siberian lands, faquir or dervish in the Persian, bazir and balian, respectively of the male and the female sex, among the aborigines of Borneo; wĕwalen in Bali, bissoo in south-west Celebes, etc. Of all these priests and priestesses it is well known that they are occasionally possessed by spirits or gods, and manifest this condition by convulsive distortions of their faces and bodies, twitching movements of their limbs, frantic running, jumping, shivering murmurs and sobs; it is also known that the possessing spirit endows them with a second sight and a power to drive off spectres.

The identity of the w u with this general priesthood of Asian paganism is corroborated by evidence of the *Kwoh yü*. This work relates, that king Chao [2], who reigned in Ch'u [3] B. C. 515—488, "asked (his Minister) Kwan Shé-fu, saying, 'The writings of the

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[1] 司巫掌羣巫之政令。若國大旱則帥巫而舞雩。國有大災則帥巫而造巫恆。祭祀則共匰主、及道布、及葙館。凡祭祀守瘞。凡喪事掌巫降之禮. Ch. 25, ll. 36 *sqq.*

[2] 昭. [3] 楚.

"Cheu dynasty state, that Chung-li [1] was actually sent as an envoy "to the inaccessible parts of heaven and earth; how was such a "thing possible? should no such thing have occurred, then tell me "whether there be any possibility for people to ascend to Heaven?' "The answer was, 'That is not the meaning of that statement. "Anciently the functions with respect to the people and with regard "to the gods were not exercised by the same persons. Those among "the people whose vital spirits (tsing) were in a bright and flour- "ishing condition, and not distracted into different directions; who "moreover had the capacity of concentrating all their feelings of "reverence, and possessed inward rectitude, — their knowledge was "able to rise to higher spheres and descend into the lower, and "distinguish there the things which it would be proper to do; "their perfect intelligence then could clearly observe things in the "distant future and explain them; by their sharpsightedness they "could see them shine in their brightest light, and by the acuteness "of their ears they could hear and scrutinize them. Being in this "condition, intelligent shen descended into them; if a shen thus "settled in a male person, this was called a hih, and if it settled "in one of the other sex, this was called a wu. As functionaries, "they regulated the places for the seats of the gods (at sacrifices), "the order of their tablets, as also their sacrificial victims and "implements, and the ceremonial attires to be worn in connection "with the season." [2]

These instructive lines thus state explicitly enough that the wu and hih were possessed by shen, that is to say, by divinity or spirituality, and that this descended into them in consequence of their own powerful imagination. Their thought, strongly fixed upon spirits on high and below, produced hallucination which allowed them to

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1 According to Szĕ-ma Ts'ien (ch. 40, l. 1), this worthy was 火正 or Director of Fire under the mythical sovereign Ti-khuh in the 25th century B. C.

2 昭王問於觀射父曰、周書所謂重黎寔使天地不通者何也、若無然、民將能登天乎。對曰、非此之謂也。古者民神不雜、民之精爽不攜貳者、而又能齊肅衷正、其智能上下比義、其聖能光遠宣朗、其明能光照之、其聰能聽徹之。如是則明神降之、在男曰覡、在女曰巫。是使制神之處位次主而爲之牲器時服. Ch. 18; 楚語, II.

pierce the future, and to learn within the spiritual world the wishes of the gods in point of the offerings due. We may ask whether it be this second sight which we see depicted in the graphic sign 覡 hih, which denoted the male wu, a dissection of which gives 巫 wu, and 見, to see. Should this be the case, the character indicates also that such second sight was especially ascribed to the male priests; which would not be strange for a people which assimilated the male sex with the Universal Yang, the source of light, lucidity and brightness.

The term 巫 wu, which, as our extracts from the *Cheu li* have shown, denoted the male priests as well as the female, has done so in all ages, to this day. Its written form may have had in ancient ages quite another shape, and this point has been an object of speculation to some authors; but we do not feel tempted to follow them in such idle work.

When attending on a Ruler or a Ruler's consort at visits of condolence in the capacity of exorcists, the male or female wu were, as we have seen (page 1189), accompanied by 祝 chuh, "Invokers" or "Conjurers", of their own sex. The functions of these priestly officers are described in the *Cheu li* immediately before those of the wu, so that we may admit that the wu were below them in rank, but co-operated with them in the exercise of religious functions. This was decidedly the opinion of the learned Wang Chao-yü of the Sung dynasty. Commenting upon the statement of the *Cheu li* that the male wu attended sacrifices (see page 1189), he wrote these lines: "The chuh as well as the wu "worshipped the shen, and therefore the wu on such occasions acted "as assistants of the chuh. At sacrificial ceremonies at which the "chuh officiated, the wu had to bring down the gods, and it was on "this account that they then turned their faces to the sacrifices and "the beings whom they invited." [1] From the Han dynasty onward, the expression wu-chuh 巫祝 occurs in literature with great frequency as denoting the wu only. From this it is evident that there has taken place a commixture of the two functions, and that the class of the wu has assumed the name chuh for themselves, since it denoted in classical China a function which was higher than their own, and therefore more fashionable.

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[1] 祝與巫皆事神者、故巫所以佑祝。凡祝所掌之祀禮、巫則掌降其神焉、此所以掌望祀望衍也.

After this it is almost superfluous to state, that the position of the wu in ancient China as exorcists is to be explained by their possession by shen, since the main principle of exorcism is the universal law that the shen oppose, expel, and even destroy the kwei. Likewise we may admit that it was their possession which, manifesting its reality by their dances, assigned to them a place at the altars for the rain-sacrifices at which the presence of gods was so urgently needed. We read in the *Li ki*, that "in a year of "drought the ruler Muh (B. C. 409—377) called Hien-tszĕ, and "asked him as follows: 'Heaven has not sent down any rain for a "long time; I will expose some wang to the sun; do you agree "to this?' 'Exposing such unsound children of men in the sun', "ran the answer, 'when Heaven does not give rain, is an act of "cruelty; no, you may not do it'. 'Well then, I will expose some "wu; has this your approval?' The answer was, 'Heaven does "not give rain, and do you expect rain from silly wives? will you "seek it by means of them? no, that would be still more wide of "the mark'." [1]

A similar story is related in the *Tso ch'wen* of another prince in a much earlier time, viz. the year 639 before our era. "In "summer there prevailed a great drought. The Ruler would burn "the wu and the wang, but Tsang Wen-chung said, 'This is no "proper provision against a drought; what can be done with wu "and wang against such a calamity? If Heaven desired them to "be killed, it would probably not have given birth to them; there- "fore, admitting that they really can cause a drought, to burn "them might greatly increase it.' The ruler followed this advice, "and that year there was scarcity, but it did no harm." [2]

These two narratives evidently are different readings of one, and

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[1] 歲旱、穆公召縣子而問然曰、天久不雨、吾欲暴尪而奚若。曰、天則不雨而暴人之疾子虐、毋、乃不可與。然則吾欲暴巫而奚若。曰、天則不雨而望之愚婦人、於以求之、毋、乃已疏乎. Section 檀弓, II, 3.

[2] 夏大旱。公欲焚巫尪、臧文仲曰、非旱備也、巫尪何爲。天欲殺之則如勿生、若能爲旱、焚之滋甚。公從之、是歲也饑而不害. Twenty-first year of the reign of Hi.

may both be inventions; nevertheless they have their value as sketches of ancient idea and custom. Those "infirm or unsound" wang were non-descript individuals, evidently placed somewhat on a line with the wu; perhaps they were queer hags or beldams, deformed beings, idiotic or crazy, or nervously affected to a very high degree, whose strange demeanour was ascribed to possession. I think there is no objection to subscribing to the opinion which Ching Khang-ch'ing, the illustrious scholar and commentator of the second century of our era, expressed in these lines: "Muh would "expose the wang to the sun in the expectation that Heaven would "compassionate them and send down its rains upon them; and as "the wu had received a shen into themselves, he also expected that "Heaven, compassionating the latter, would send down rain upon "them."[1] Wang Ch'ung, who lived one century before Ching, declared that the cruel measure involved a maltreatment of the Yang which dwelt in the wu, for it was this universal power which caused the drought. "Popular opinion pretends that boys are yang, "and that on this account spiritual revelations come forth from "the mouths of boys. Lads and wu contain Yang; hence it is "that at the great rain-sacrifices they set boys to dancing, and "expose wu to the sun... When the sun is eclipsed, it is because "the Yin vanquishes it; on this account attacks are then made "by man on things which are yin. So also, at the time of a "drought, when the Yang predominates, the allies of the Yang are "made to smart; and therefore, whereas the wu are allies of the "Yang, Hi of Lu in a time of drought resolved to burn the wu. "The wu contain the breath of the Yang in themselves; hence it "is that so many people who live in a yang country (in the sunny "south) become wu. The wu thus being affiliated with the spirit-"world, they perform spiritual Wu-ism, and the latter has close "affinity with the utterance of ditties by boys. The revelations of "wu point out what is felicitous or ominous, so that they are fortune-"tellers. Thus it was that the phantom of Shen-sheng manifested "itself by means of a wu; indeed, as the wu contain Yang, "they can see apparitions of spirits."[2] That apparition of the

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[1] 暴尪覬天哀而雨之、巫能接神、亦覬天哀而雨之. The Khienlung edition of the *Li ki*, *loc. cit.*

[2] 世謂童子爲陽、故妖言出於小童。童巫含陽、故大雩之祭舞童暴巫。。。日食陰勝、故攻陰之類。

crown-prince Shen-sheng has been related by us on page 433.

From these few Chinese lines we learn things which we must not disregard. Long ago, when Wang Ch'ung lived, young men on account of their strong masculinity were considered to be peculiarly animated with universal yang fluid or shen; and no doubt the male wu were for that reason preferably young. Therefore also boys stood side by side with the wu at rain-sacrifices, to exhaust and torture themselves with dancing and gestures under the scorching sun. Ghosts of the dead, such as that of Shen-sheng, might be consulted by the wu, and through their mouths reveal felicity and misfortune, and other spirits might do the same thing; and in the historical books of all times we read, that the t'ung yao[1] or "ditties of boys", of which Wang Ch'ung speaks, were devoutly listened to in the streets and received as divine revelations, even reported to the magistrates, studied and interpreted as oracles, and afterwards officially recorded in the dynastic annals. Thus the pen of Wang Ch'ung gives us a plausible explanation of the presence of devil-expelling lads in the no processions of the Han dynasty (see pp. 976 *sqq.*); indeed, just as much as the wu who performed their important part therein, those lads possessed exorcising capacity because of their animation by shen. On page 985 we have stated that they appear in such processions up to this day.

As soothsayers, the wu in ancient China no doubt held a place of great importance. This fact is evidenced by the episode of the year 580 before our era, which we have quoted from the *Tso ch'wen* on page 678: a ruler, threatened in his dream by a revengeful spectre, ordered a wu to be called, who proved able to tell him what he had dreamt, and to prophesy his fate therefrom with striking exactitude. Another narrative in the same *Tso ch'wen* tells of Ch'ing[2], king of Ch'u from 407—402 B. C., to whom it was foretold by a wu that himself and two grandees would die a violent death;

天旱陽勝、故愁陽之黨、巫爲陽黨、故魯僖遭旱議欲焚巫。巫含陽氣、以故陽地之民多爲巫。巫黨於鬼、故巫者爲鬼巫、鬼巫比於童謠。故巫之審者能處吉凶、吉凶能處、吉凶之徒也。故申生之妖見於巫、巫含陽、能見爲妖也. *Lun heng*, chapter 22, 訂鬼篇.

[1] 童謠. [2] 成.

and indeed, one of the latter put an end to his own life, and the other with the king were slain [1]. The enormous capacity of the wu for prediction was also instanced by Chwang-tszĕ in the following lines: "In Ching there was a wu, animated by a shen; "his (or her) name was Ki-hien. He knew everything about the "death and birth of men, the continuation and cessation of their "lives, their misfortunes and happiness, and whether they would "die at a great age or prematurely. He assigned (propitious or "unpropitious) years, months, decades, and days, as if he were "himself the shen. Whenever people of Ching saw him they shivered "and ran away. Lieh-tszĕ had no sooner seen him than his mind "was inebriated." [2]

The powerful influence of Wu-ism in ancient China is illustrated peculiarly well by the historian Ch'u [3], writings of whom are bound up with Szĕ-ma Ts'ien's Historical Records. "At the time of the "ruler Wen of the kingdom of Wei (425—387 B. C.) Si-men Pao "became prefect of Yeh [4]. On his arrival there he convoked the "elders, and asked them what things afflicted the people. 'The "worst thing', they replied, 'is the marriage of the River-lord; it "is on account thereof that we are so poor'. He then asked them "to explain the matter, and they answered as follows:

"'When the three elders in Yeh and their officers collect the "yearly taxes from the people, they take away several millions of "its money; they then spend three hundred thousand coins on "the marriage of the River-lord, and dividing the rest among "themselves and the wu-chuh, take it to their homes. When "the time for that ceremony is coming, the wu travel about to "examine who among the daughters of the people is the nicest; "and this one they order to become the wife of the River-lord. "They forthwith betroth her to him, wash her, have an attire made "for her of new silk and satin, and let her fast in solitude, in a "fasting-house made for her. They then build a brown tent at the "river-side, place the girl therein, prepare a sacrificial ox with spirits

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1 The eleventh year of the ruler Wen.

2 鄭有神巫、曰季咸。知人之死生存亡禍福壽夭。期以歲月旬日若神。鄭人見之皆弁而走。列子見之而心醉. *Nan hwa chen king*, ch. 3, sect. 應帝王. See also *Lieh-tszĕ*, ch. 2.

3 See page 839, note 2.

4 In the north-east of the present Honan province.

"and food, carry her round in procession for ten or more days, "adorn her with white face-powder, make a nuptial bed, tell her "to sit down upon it, and launch it into the stream. It will then "float away for some dozen miles, and sink. Families with hand- "some daughters, fearing that the chief wu-chuh will fetch them "for the River-lord, take to flight in great numbers to regions far "off, taking the maids with them; thus the city is more and more "depopulated, and impoverishment has been the result of these "practices for a long time.'

"Si Men-pao now said, 'Next time the River-lord marries, I want "the three elders and the wu-chuh to be there with the old "men, to launch the maid into the stream; then also kindly come "and tell me, that I myself may go there to escort her away.' All "promised to do so, and when the hour had come, Si Men-pao "went to join them at the river-side. [1]

"The three elders, the officers with their followers, the notables, "and the old men of the wards all had flocked to the spot, with "two or three thousand spectators from among the people. The "wu was a spinster of seventy years; ten female disciples, each "dressed in a gown of silk, stood behind her. 'Call the wife of

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[1] 魏文侯時西門豹爲鄴令。豹往到鄴、會長老、問之民所疾苦。長老曰、苦爲河伯娶婦、以故貧。豹問其故、對曰、

鄴三老廷掾常歲賦歛百姓、收取其錢、得數百萬、用其二三十萬爲河伯娶婦、與巫祝共分其餘錢、持歸。當其時巫行視人家女好者、云是當爲河伯婦。卽娉取、洗沐之、爲治新繒綺穀衣、閒居齋戒、爲治齋宮。河上張緹絳帷、女居其中、爲具牛酒飯食、行十餘日、共粉飾之、如嫁女床席、令女居其上、浮之河中。始浮行數十里乃沒。其人家有好女者恐大巫祝爲河伯取之、以故多持女遠逃亡、以故城中益空無人、又困貧所從來久遠矣。

西門豹曰、至爲河伯娶婦時、願三老巫祝父老送女河上、幸來告語之、吾亦往送女。皆曰諾、至其時、西門豹往會之河上。

"the River-lord hither'; said Si Men-pao, 'that I may see whether "she is handsome or ugly'. They forthwith fetched her out of the "tent, and as she stood before him, he looked at her and, turning "to the three elders, the wu-chuh and the old men, said, 'This "maid is not nice enough; chief wu-dame, be so kind as to go "into the water for me and tell the River-god that we will try to "get one of greater beauty, to send to him another day'. And on "his orders the constables lifted up the chief wu-dame, and flung her "into the stream. After a while he said, 'Why does she stop in "there so long? disciple, go and tell her to make haste' — and "they cast a disciple into the river. Again there was a pause, after "which he exclaimed, 'Wherefore does that disciple stay away so "long? despatch another one to hurry her on!' and they flung yet "another disciple into the water. Still a third of them suffered the "same fate, whereupon Si-Men Pao said, 'Those disciples of the "wu dame are merely women, unable to deliver any message; the "three elders must go into the water and deliver it'; and they too "were cast into the stream.

"Now Si-men Pao stuck his writing-pencil into his hair, bent "forward towards the river, and remained in this position for a "good while, the old men, the officials, and the spectators standing "horror-stricken. He now turned towards them; 'how is it', said "he, 'that the wu dame and the three elders do not come back? "I will now despatch an officer and a notable to hurry them on'. "But they all struck their heads against the ground again and again, "so that their foreheads were almost broken and the blood gushed "out on the ground; their faces had an ashy colour of death. "'Yes', said Si-men Pao, 'let us wait here a few moments more'; "and when these had elapsed, he said, 'Officers, rise! the River-"god detains his visitors so long that evidently they are gone for "ever; let us go home now'. So great a fright thus came on the "official class and the people in Yeh that from that moment nobody "even ventured to speak of marriages of the River-lord." [1]

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[1] 三老官屬豪長者里父老皆會、以人民往觀之者三二千人。其巫老女子也、已年七十、從弟子女十人、所衣皆繒單衣、立大巫後。西門豹曰、呼河伯婦來、視其好醜。即將女出帷中來至前、豹視之、顧謂三老巫祝父老曰、是女子不好、煩大

These drastic measures of Si-men Pao did not deliver the country everywhere from marriages of gods with daughters of men by the agency of Wu-ism. As late as the year 57 of our era they were in vogue "in the district of Siün-tsiu (in the present Nganhwui province), "where two mountains, named T'ang and Heu, were worshipped "together by the people with sacrifices. The wu carried away boys "and girls from among the people and made them the consorts (of "those mountains), replacing them every year by others; and there-"after nobody ventured to marry those persons. None of the prefects "who had been in office there had ever ventured to forbid those "practices; but Sung Kiün issued a decree to the effect that "thenceforth the women married by the mountains should exclusive-"ly be taken from the class of wu, and that the people should "no longer be troubled with the matter. In this way that practice "was stopped." [1]

We have now had before us many instances of the very old fact which we noted on page 1188, that the wu were by no means always on the best of terms with the ruling class. Indeed, it is in

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巫嫗爲入報河伯得更求好女、後日送之。卽使吏卒共抱大巫嫗、投之河中。有頃曰、巫嫗何久也、弟子趣之、復以弟子一人投河中.有頃曰、弟子何久也、復使一人趣之、復投一弟子河中。凡投三弟子、西門豹曰、巫嫗弟子是女子也、不能白事、煩三老爲入白之、復投三老河中。

西門豹簪筆、磬折嚮河、立待良久、長老吏傍觀者皆驚恐。西門豹顧曰、巫嫗三老不來還奈之何、欲復使廷掾與豪長者一人入趣之。皆叩頭叩頭、且破額、血流地、色如死灰。西門豹曰、諾、且留待之須臾、須臾豹曰、廷掾起矣、狀河伯留客之久若皆罷去、歸矣。鄴吏民大驚恐、從是以後不敢復言爲河伯娶婦. Historical Records, ch. 126, ll. 12 *sqq.*

[1] 浚遒縣有唐后二山、民共祠之。衆巫遂取百姓男女以爲公嫗、歲歲改易、既而不敢嫁娶。前後守令莫敢禁、宋均乃下書曰、自今以後爲山娶者皆娶巫家、勿擾良民。於是遂絶. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, chapter 71, l. 15.

the highest degree improbable that proud grandees, who deemed themselves and their power above gods and spirits, should see any reason to respect mere common people just because certain spirits occasionally descended into them. And yet these people continued to be employed under the Han dynasty by the ruling class for the celebration of official or non-official rites. Even emperors, according to precedent set by the great founder of that House, for this purpose employed w u of various sorts, who were distinguished by names of countries. "Four years afterwards (201 B. C.), order having been "established in the empire, the emperor decreed that sacrifices should "be instituted in Ch'ang-ngan (the imperial residence), with officers "for invocation or conjuration and female w u. The w u of the Liang "country were to sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, the celestial spirits "of the soil, the celestial water, the gods within the rooms and "the upper part of the hall, etc. The w u of Tsin sacrificed to the "five emperors, to the king of the East (the sun), the gods of the "clouds, the rulers of destiny, the earth-divinities of the w u, the "(deceased) clansmen of the w u, to the persons who first cooked food, "and the like. The w u of Ts'in sacrificed to the chief among the "local gods of the soil, to the protectors of the w u, to Tsuh and "Lei, etc. The w u of King sacrificed downstairs before the hall to "the ancestors of the w u, to the rulers of destiny, the bestowers of "rice, and others. The w u for the nine divisions of the sphere "sacrificed to these nine divisions. All those w u sacrificed within the "Palace at fixed annual times. The w u of the Hwangho sacrificed "to this river at Lin-tsin, and the w u of the southern mountains "sacrificed to these mountains, as also to Ts'in-chung, who is the "emperor Rh-shi. Each of these sacrifices was celebrated in stipu-"lated seasons and months." [1]

Liang, Tsin, Ts'in and King, whence the founder of the Han dynasty gathered his w u for the worship of all those deified parts

[1] 後四歲天下已定、令長安置祠祝官女巫。其梁巫祠天地天社天水房中堂上之屬。晉巫祠五帝東君雲中司命巫社巫族人先炊之屬。秦巫祠社主巫保族纍之屬。荊巫祠堂下巫先司命施糜之屬。九天巫祠九天。皆以歲時祠宮中。其河巫祠河於臨晉、而南山巫祠南山秦中、秦中者二世皇帝。各有時月. Historical Records, chapter 28, ll. 16 *seq.* Also the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 25, I, l. 15.

of the Universe and human spirits, were four large regions with which he deemed the history of his family to be connected. The prevalence of Wu-ism in those four parts of the empire involves the probability that it existed in all its parts. Even the non-Chinese peoples who lived towards the west had it, for we have learned before in this work (pp. 830 *sqq.*) that in the year 91 B. C. Hunnish wu, probably belonging to foreign troops quartered in the capital, were cruelly employed under Kiang Ch'ung in the discovery and persecution of sorcerers whom the emperor Wu suspected of attacks on his health and life; those people were seers, who could discover hidden objects of sorcery, and even the sorcerers and sorceresses themselves when the latter were at work in the dark. Those blood-stained pages of China's history have taught us at the same time that the Chinese wu themselves had an odious reputation for sorcery, and were openly accused of having in their employ evil spirits which they impelled by means of sacrifices to assail the emperor; they have also taught us that those people were so readily believed to indulge in the breeding of ku, that wu ku or "wu-ist ku" was the common term to denote this odious practice (cf. p. 828), and that a persecution of several years' duration was undertaken for their extermination.

With these facts before us, it is certainly curious to read that the same emperor who ordered that chase had nevertheless himself employed the wu on behalf of his own interests, and paid fervent worship to the gods who descended into them. "In the next "year (118 B. C.) the Son of Heaven was ill in the Ting-hu palace, "and his condition became very precarious; there was no wu, no "physician whom he did not call, and yet he did not recover. "Then Yiu-shui Fah-ken said, 'There is in the province under "Your Majesty's immediate rule a wu, into whom, ever since a "certain day on which she was taken ill, a spirit descends'. The "emperor called her, and instituted sacrifices for that spirit in "Kan-ts'üen; and when he felt ill, he sent some one thither to "interrogate the (deceased) princess Shen. This princess said (by "mouth of the wu?), 'the Son of Heaven need not feel concerned "about his illness; but as soon as he feels a little better he must "do his best to come to me at Kan-ts'üen'. The emperor became "better, rose, and went to Kan-ts'üen; and when he had recovered "he proclaimed a general amnesty, and banqueted the princess Shen "in the temple of Longevity.

"The being which the princess Shen in this temple of Longevity

"especially esteemed, was T'ai-yih; her assistant deities were Ta-
"kin, the rulers of destiny, and others, who all accompanied her.
"They could not be seen, yet their words could be understood, for
"they spoke like human beings. Sometimes they was absent, and
"sometimes present, and when they came they soughed like the
"wind, and settled behind the curtains of the tabernacle. Some-
"times they spoke in the daytime, but as a rule they did so in
"the night. The Son of Heaven did not enter but after purification
"from evil influences. The w u was the directress there, and there-
"fore was provided with food and drink; and she was the medium
"through whom the princess spoke.

"Moreover the emperor erected a temple to the north of that
"of Longevity. There he put up long plumes and banners, and set
"out sacrificial implements for the worship of the princess, and
"whatever she said he ordered to be written down. Her orders were
"called written law, but merely told things which even ordinary
"people knew, and they contained nothing extraordinary; nevertheless
"the Son of Heaven extended an exclusive preference to them.
"They were kept secret, and the world at that time knew nothing
"of them." [1]

These interesting lines picture to us the w u not only in the

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[1] 明年天子病鼎湖甚、巫醫無所不致、不愈。游水發根言、上郡有巫、病而鬼神下之。上召、置祠之甘泉、及病使人問神君。神君言曰、天子無憂病、病少愈、彊與我會甘泉。於是病愈、遂起幸甘泉、病良已大赦、置酒壽宮神君。

壽宮神君最貴者太一、其佐曰大禁司命之屬、皆從之。弗可得見、聞其言、言與人音等。時去時來、來則風肅然、居室帷中。時晝言、然常以夜。天子祓然後入。因巫爲主人關飲食、所以言行下。

又置壽宮北宮。張羽旗、設供具以禮神君、神君所言上使人受書。其言命之曰書法、其所語世俗之所知也、無絕殊者、而天子心獨喜。其事祕、世莫知也. Historical Records, chapter 28, ll. 23 *seq.*, and chapter 12, ll. 6 *seq.* Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 25 I, ll. 21 *seq.*

garb of sacrificing priests or priestesses, and as possessed mediums by whom the gods gave forth their oracular revelations, but also as professors of the healing art. It is quite a matter of course that they should be physicians, since they were expellers of demons, and illness was ascribed in the main to demoniacal possession. It is then not at all strange that the character 醫, which denotes the medical art, is to this day so often written 毉, with the substitution of the radical 巫 wu for the radical 酉. The medical position of the wu is also evidenced by the use of the binomium 巫醫 wu-i in all ages, to denote the faculty or its practitioners. This binominal term is even classical, for it is stated in the *Lun yü* that Confucius said, "The people of the south have this saying, "'of a man without constancy nobody can make a wu-i'. This "is well said." [1]

Evidently Mencius was thinking of the medical character of the wu when he spoke of them as protectors or prolongers of lives in this passage: "Are arrow-makers less humane than the makers "of armour? and yet the only fear of an arrow-maker is lest men "should not be hurt, while it is the armour-smith's only fear lest "men should be hurt. So it is respectively with wu and coffin-"makers." [2] The *Shan-hai king* refers to the wu as physicians in two passages, which may be very old. "On the east of Khai-ming "are the six wu P'eng, Ti, Yang, Li, Fan, and Siang, who carry "the corpse of I-yü and have death-banishing medicinal herbs "in their hands to drive him away. I-yü had the shape of a "snake with a human face, and was killed by a minister of "Rh-fu. [3] Within the great desert is a mountain, called the Jasper "Gate of Fung-tsü, behind which the sun and the moon set. Ten "wu, named Hien, Tsih, Fen, P'eng, Ku, Chen, Li, Ti, Sié, and "Lo, go up and down an animated mountain there, on account

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[1] 子曰、南人有言曰、人而無恆不可以作巫醫、善夫. *Lun yü*, XIII, 22.

[2] 孟子曰、矢人豈不仁於函人哉、矢人惟恐不傷人、函人惟恐傷人、巫匠亦然. The works of Mencius, section 公孫丑, I.

[3] 開明東有巫彭巫抵巫陽巫履巫凡巫相、夾窫窳之尸、皆操不死之藥以距之。窫窳者蛇身人面、貳負臣所殺也. Chapter 11.

"of the hundreds of medicinal herbs which grow there."[1] Nobody in China knows what all these names mean or express, and authors abstain from interpreting them. Hien, the first of those wu, is also mentioned in the *Shan-hai king* in this passage, no less obscure: "The kingdom of the wu Hien lies north of Nü-ch'eu. In his right "hand he holds a blue snake, and in his left a red one, and he "lives on the Teng-pao mountain, on which all the wu move up "and down".[2] Some authors conjecture that we have to do here not with a wu bearing the name of Hien, but with a realm called Wu-hien, the people of which possessed the curious habit of carrying such snakes.

This Hien 咸, who was either a wu, or simply a bearer of the name Wu-hien, has occupied the attention of scholars because he is mentioned in the *Shu king*. We read in this Classic, that "in T'ai-meu's time (17th century B. C.) there was Wu-hien "who regulated the royal household, and in Tsu-yih's time (16th "cent. B. C.) there was a man like Wu-hien".[3] Those two names, written 巫咸 and 巫賢, may, of course, as some commentators duly state, be names of offices; but others maintain that they virtually denoted priests, seeing that it is stated in the Bamboo Annals that "in the eleventh year of his reign T'ai-meu directed Wu-hien to pray to hills and streams".[4] The riddle must be left in its obscurity. Tales and legends have been framed upon those proper names or dignities. The name Wu-hien has also been borne by some valleys and mountains to which attached the fame of having produced or harboured Wu-ist priests and priestesses of significance; but these things do not inspire much interest.[5] We may, however, take notice of the fact that the term 巫咸 not

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1 大荒之中有山、名曰豐沮玉門、日月所入。有靈山、巫咸巫卽巫盼巫彭巫姑巫眞巫禮巫抵巫謝巫羅十巫從此升降、百藥爰在. Chapter 16.

2 巫咸國在女丑北。右手操青蛇、左手操赤蛇、在登葆山、群巫所從上下也. Chapter 7.

3 在太戊時則有巫咸乂王家、在祖乙時則有若巫賢. Books of Cheu, section 君奭.

4 太戊十一年命巫咸禱于山川. *Chuh shu ki nien*, IV. See also Chavannes, Les Mémoires Historiques, I, page 191.

5 A good survey of those questions is given by Ku Yen-wu in the *Jih chi luh*, chapter 25.

seldom appears since the Han dynasty as denoting w u of a superior kind or even of ordinary quality, as also that many w u to this day regard the mysterious Wu-hien of antiquity as the patriarch or patron-divinity of their profession, for whom they occasionally make images, and whom they worship with sacrifices.

The historical writings relating to the reign of the famous emperor Wu, rich in details about Wu-ism, confirm also the statement of Wang Ch'ung (see p. 1194) that Wu-ism must have flourished particularly in the southern regions, for they tell us, that this monarch specially engaged quite a number from there for the celebration of their religious rites on his own behalf. "In that time (109 B. C.) "the two Yueh states[1] had been destroyed. A man from there, "named Yung-chi, said, 'The people of Yueh believe in k w e i, "and in their sacrificial services they see them; these beings are "often employed by them with useful results. The king of eastern "Ngeu honoured the k w e i and lived for one hundred and sixty "years; his descendants neglected their worship, and came to decay "and ruin.' On this the emperor ordered that the w u of Yueh "should institute invocations and sacrifices which were in vogue "in Yueh, and lay out a terrace for the purpose, without an altar, "and that they should also sacrifice to the celestial deities, the "supreme Emperor, and hundreds of k w e i, and practise divination "by means of cocks.[2] The emperor placed his confidence in those "w u, and thus the sacrifices of Yueh with the divinations by "means of cocks commenced."[3]

We have now had before us sufficient evidence to perceive, that in the second and first centuries before our era the Wu-ist priesthood actually was the priesthood proper of China, even for the highest man in the world under heaven. It was then evidently not yet dethroned by a Confucian state-religion, which in those

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1 Corresponding to the present Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and the adjacent north and south. Chapter 12, l. 20 of the Historical Records has in this place 南越, South Yueh.

2 By the examination of figures on the bones of the cooked bird.

3 是時既滅兩越。越人勇之乃言、越人信鬼而其祠皆見鬼、數有效。昔東甌王敬鬼、壽百六十歲、後世怠慢故衰耗。乃令越巫立越祝祠、安臺、無壇、亦祠天神上帝百鬼而以雞卜。上信之、越祠雞卜始用. Historical Records, ch. 28, l. 33, and ch. 12, l. 20.

ages was just being built up from elements mentioned in the Classics, and which was destined to become to this day the only official and orthodox religion, which excommunicates Wu-ist office from its pale. The strength of the position of Wu-ism in that period must appear quite natural to us if we merely admit that it was the pristine priesthood of China, spontaneously produced by the Animistic Religion, which, having been probably the religion proper of its people from the first days of its existence, still bore supreme sway in the age of Han.

If emperors of the Han dynasty were so anxious to employ the Wu-ist priesthood, we cannot be surprised to read that the princes were no less addicted to its services for sorcerous and other designs. Wu had five sons, the fourth of whom was Sü [1], feudal king of Kwang-ling [2]; the third had succeeded him in 86 B. C. and is known in history by his posthumous name Chao [3]. "Under the reign of "the emperor Chao, Sü, considering that this monarch was young "and childless, aspired to the crown himself; and as in that Ch'u "region Wu-ist and demonistic practices were in vogue, he fetched "a female wu, Li Nü-sü by name, and ordered her to bring down "a shen and make incantations. Nü-sü burst into tears as she "said, 'the emperor Hiao Wu descends into me'; and while all the "bystanders prostrated themselves she exclaimed, 'It is my strict "order that Sü shall become the Son of Heaven'. Many a time Sü "gave money to Nü-sü and sent her to the Wu-shan (or hill of "the wu) to pray, and — the emperor died (74 B. C.). Sü then "said, 'how good a wu this Nü-sü is'; he slaughtered an ox, "to present it as a thank-offering with prayers.

"But the king of Ch'ang-yih (Wu's fifth son) was called to the "throne; therefore Sü ordered the wu again to use her incanta- "tions against this emperor, who after that was deposed. Sü's con- "fidence in Nü-sü and the other wu thus increased again, and he "frequently gave her money and presents; nevertheless the emperor "Süen mounted the throne. 'Why is the grandson of the heir- "apparent (see page 842) placed on the throne instead of I?' he "exclaimed, and ordered Nü-sü again to make her incantations in "the same way ....

"Afterwards his son Pao, under-vassal in Nan-li, was found guilty "of murder, and divested of his dignity. He returned to Kwang- "ling, and there committed incest with Tso-siu, a consort of his

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1 胥. 2 廣陵王. 3 昭.

"father's. This was discovered; they were imprisoned, and executed "in public. The minister Shing-chi now proposed to the emperor "to sequestrate the king's pasture-grounds on the banks of the "Shé, in order to distribute them among the poor; and the "emperor approved of this proposal. Now Sü told the wu again "to make her incantations as before. Then the red leaves on some "ten branches of a jujube tree in his palace-park turned as white "as silk; and in the pond the water became red and the fish died; "and rats hopped in full daylight in erect attitude in the queen's "courtyard. 'This strange behaviour of that tree, that water, those "fish and those rats is most alarming', said Sü to Ki Nan-teng, "and in fact only a few months elapsed before the incantations "were betrayed. Officers arrived to examine the matter, and Sü, "seized with fear, imposed silence on the wu and more than "twenty of his palace officials by poisoning them. The high ministers "proposed that he should be put to death, and the emperor "delegated a court-judge in chief with a minister for the State "Ceremonial to examine him. Sü avowed his guilt, declared that "he had deserved more than death, everything being true, and "requested that, as those matters had taken place so long ago, he "might be allowed to go home, in order to recall them to his "memory. This request was readily granted. [1]

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[1] 始昭帝時、胥見上年少無子、有覬欲心、而楚地巫鬼、胥迎女巫李女須、使下神祝詛。女須泣曰、孝武帝下我、左右皆伏、言吾必令胥爲天子。胥多賜女須錢、使禱巫山、會昭帝崩。胥曰、女須良巫也、殺牛塞禱。

及昌邑王徵、復使巫祝詛之、後王廢。胥寖信女須等、數賜予錢物、宣帝卽位。胥曰、太子孫何以反得立、復令女須祝詛如前...

後胥子南利侯寶坐殺人、奪爵。還歸廣陵、與胥姬左脩姦。事發覺、繫獄、棄市。相勝之奏奪王射陂草田、以賦貧民、奏可。胥復使巫祝詛如前。胥宮園中棗樹生十餘莖、莖上赤葉白如素、池水變赤、魚死、有鼠晝立舞王后庭中。胥謂姬南等曰、棗水魚鼠之怪甚可惡也、居數月祝詛

"After this interview with the delegates he went home, set out "spirits in the Hien-yang hall, called his eldest son Pa and his "daughters-in-law Tung Tszĕ and Hu Sheng, and passed the night "with them drinking. At his command his favourite concubine "Kwoh Chao-kiün, his domestic named Chao Tso-kiün and others "strummed the psaltery, chanted and danced, and he himself chimed "in with a song, which moved to tears all those who were present. "They drank wine till the crowing of the cocks; then he said to "his eldest son Pa, 'His Majesty has bestowed favours upon me "which I have returned with the greatest ingratitude; therefore I "deserve that after my death my remains should lie exposed to the "open air; but I shall be happy if they are just buried with little "care'. He then strangled himself with his seal-ribbons. The con- "cubine Kwoh Chao-kiün and another one committed suicide. The "Son of Heaven by way of favour spared his (eight) sons, but "they were all degraded to the rank of commoners." [1]

Certainly we are here entitled to assume, that the domination which a.wu exercised over the mind of that son of an emperor, rested in the main on his firm belief in her power to call down into herself even the spirit of his late mighty imperial father, whose words, according to the old classical law of filial submission, were to be obeyed by him as sacred commands. We may even draw a general conclusion from the episode, and say that the power of the Wu-ist priesthood to have intercourse with ancestors, even with the most exalted among them, and to reveal their will, was the

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事發覺。有司按驗、胥惶恐、藥殺巫及宮人二十餘人、以絶口。公卿請誅胥、天子遣廷尉大鴻臚卽訊。胥謝曰罪死有餘、誠皆有之、事久遠、請歸思念。具對。

[1] 胥旣見使者還、置酒顯陽殿、召太子霸及子女董訾胡生等夜飲。使所幸八子郭昭君、家人子趙左君等 鼓瑟歌舞、王自歌。。。左右悉更涕泣。奏酒至雞鳴時罷、胥謂太子霸曰、上遇我厚、今負之甚、我死、骸骨當暴、幸而得葬薄之無厚也。卽以綬自絞死。及八子郭昭君等二人皆自殺。天子加恩赦王諸子、皆爲庶人 Books of the Early Han Dynasty, chapter 63, ll. 14 *sqq.*

great source of the influence of that priesthood among every class upon human conduct of every kind. Peculiarly instructive on this head is also the following episode in the history of the same House of Han. In the year 25 of our era, when the troubles resulting from the usurpation of the throne by Wang Mang were drawing to a close, a military adventurer, Fan Ch'ung [1] by name, had an enormous army in the field, known as that of the Red Eyebrows [2], as they were wont to dye their eyebrows blood-colour. "There always was "in that army a wu from Ts'i, who with drumming and dancing "sacrificed to King, feudal prince of Ch'ing-yang (a deceased scion "of the House of Han), in order to obtain his blessing and help. "This wu said in her ecstasy, 'Prince King bursts into anger, and "says that we must appoint a district prefect (a covert term for "emperor); wherefore else have we raised the standard of rebellion?' "Some who railed at the wu were forthwith smitten with disease, "so that she inspired terror in the army... The wu then insisted "with greater emphasis, and when the army had invaded Ching, "and Fan Ch'ung consulted her, she said, 'As we are now drawing "near Ch'ang-ngan (the capital), and the spirit manifests its will so "emphatically, we must look about for a member of the Liu family "(i. e. of the House of Han), unanimously acknowledge him, and "place him upon the throne'. And in the sixth month they raised "Liu P'ĕn-tszĕ (a descendant of the emperor King) to the imperial "dignity." [3] Ch'ang-ngan was then taken by these insurgents, sacked and destroyed; but Liu P'ĕn-tszĕ submitted in the next year to another scion of the House of Han, who founded the Later Han dynasty.

As the Wu-ist priesthood consisted largely, probably even principally, of women, we cannot wonder that its influence was prevalent to a great extent among the female sex. A remarkable testimony to this fact was given in the first half of the second century of our era by Wang Fu, who considered it his duty to disparage this influence in the following reproachful terms: "The Odes satirized

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[1] 樊崇. [2] 赤眉.

[3] 軍中常有齊巫、鼓舞祠城陽景王、以求福助。巫狂言、景王大怒、曰當爲縣官、何故爲賊。有笑巫者輒病、軍中驚動。。。而巫言益甚前、及鄭、樊崇乃相與議、曰、今迫近長安而鬼神如此、當求劉氏共尊立之。六月遂立盆子爲帝. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 41, l. 11.

"a woman who did not twist her hemp, but sauntered in the "market[1]; yet even now there are so many who do not occupy "themselves with the dressing of food at home, neither rear any "silk-worms, nor weave, but above everything learn the profession "of the wu-chuh. Dancing to the sound of drums, they employ "spirits, and with this practice cheat the people and mislead its "married and unmarried women, to the effect that the weak and "the sick, when in distress and sorrow, altogether fear them. They "then advise them to flee till felicitous times have come, and to "abandon their good houses, and to lodge in ravines or by the "roadside, where they are wetted from above, and soaked from "below; there wind and cold hurt them; there rogues prey upon "them, thieves and robbers strike them — the numbers of those on "whom such misfortunes and other consequences of their devilish "work are heaped to such an extent as to cause the worst thing "(viz. death), has reached the utmost limit. There are also people who "reject medical help and drugs, but go and employ the spirits (of "the wu), thus incurring death without even guessing that they "were victims of the imposture of the wu; on the contrary they "regret that they have too late begun to employ the latter. We "here have to do with the worst kind of deception of the people."[1]

Wu-ist imposture is denoted in these lines by the character 誣, composed of 言 "words", and 巫 wu. To this day that character signifies imposture in general. It is even classical, as it occurs in the *Yih king*, the *Lun yü*, the *Li ki*, and the writings of Mencius, as also in the *Shu king*, in a piece professedly dating from the year 1765 B. C.[3] May we consider its antiquity and composition

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1 See the *Shi king*, section 國風, XII, ode 2.

2 詩刺不績其麻市也婆娑、今多不修中饋、休其蠶織而起學巫祝。鼓舞事神、以欺誣細民、熒惑百姓婦女、羸弱疾病之家懷憂憒憒、皆易恐懼。至使奔走便時、去離正宅、崎嶇路側、上漏下濕、風寒所傷、姦人所利、賊盜所中、益禍益祟以致重者不可勝數。或棄醫藥、更往事神、故至於死亡、不自知爲巫所欺誤、乃反恨事巫之晚。此熒惑細民之甚者也. *Ts'ien fu lun*, ch. 3, sect. 12, 浮侈.

3 Books of Shang, sect. 仲虺之誥.

as another proof of the contempt which men of letters have cherished for Wu-ism since the remotest times?

We learn from that passage from Wang Fu's book, that the Wu-ist practices were exercised by any woman, married or unmarried, who felt able to evoke and employ spirits, and that they were diligently studied within the circle of home-life. There is, of course, no reason to suppose that this state of affairs dates from the Han epoch, in which Wang Fu lived; it may have prevailed as long as Wu-ism itself. It prevails at the present day, as we shall have an opportunity of seeing in Chapter VI.

There is no reason to doubt that the shen or kwei, which the Wu-ist priesthood employed for its animistic practices, were for the most part ghosts of the dead. Wang Ch'ung affirms this in the following lines from his critical pen: "Among men the dead speak "through living persons whom they throw into a trance, and the "wu, thrumming their black chords, call down souls of the dead, "which then speak through the mouths of the wu. But whatever "these people say is always falsehood. If we allow that it is no "falsehood, but reflections of the vital spirits of (dead) beings, then it "may be objected that such a vital spirit cannot speak, and there-"fore cannot have any intelligence, since intelligence and speech "both require breath. Anterior to a man's death his intellect and "vital spirit are in good order, but as soon as he falls ill his intel-"lect is dimmed and his vital spirit is disorganized; — death is the "last stage of illness; if they are dimmed and disorganized even during "an illness, which is only a small beginning of death, how much "more must they be so when the last stage is reached! A patient "whose life-spirit is in disorder has no longer any intelligence; "how will it be when that spirit is dissolved (by death)!" [1]

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[1] 世間死者令生人殄而用之言、及巫卽玄絃下死人魂、因巫口談。皆誇誕之言也。如不誇誕、物之精神爲之象也、或曰不能言也、夫不能言則亦不能知矣、知用氣、言亦用氣焉。人之未死也智慧精神定矣、病則惛亂、精神擾也、夫死病之甚者也、病死之微猶惛亂、況其甚乎。精神擾、自無所知、況其散也. *Lun heng*, chapter 20, 論死篇.

CHAPTER II.

WU-ISM AFTER THE HAN PERIOD.

In the long series of ages which lie between the epoch in which the Han dynasty reigned and our own time, Wu-ism may have changed its outward aspect, but has certainly not altered its fundamental characteristics. The wu have ever remained what they probably were from the night of time: men and women possessed by spirits or gods, and consequently acting as seers and soothsayers, exorcists and physicians; invokers or conjurers bringing down gods at sacrifices, and performing other sacerdotal functions, occasionally indulging also in imprecation, and in sorcery with the help of spirits. This fact is evinced by Chinese literature of every age, a certain number of pages from which must occupy our attention, because they throw some new light on our subject.

Take for instance an interesting narrative from the life of one Hia T'ung [1], a virtuous man of Hwui-ki in the present province of Chehkiang, who lived under the Tsin dynasty. "His stepfather "King Ning was sacrificing to his ancestors and had engaged for "this occasion two female wu, one Chang Tan and one Ch'en "Chu, who more than any others in the empire were endowed "with beauty. They were dressed very gaudily, and chanted and "danced excellently, and they could render themselves invisible. "The first evening was opened by them with bells and drums, "the noise of which they alternated with music of stringed instru- "ments and bamboo pipes, and then Tan and Chu drew knives "or swords, cut their tongues therewith, swallowed the swords, and "spat fire, a cloud hiding them from view, from which streams "of light flashed like lightning. [2]

"T'ung's step-brothers were anxious to go and witness the per-

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1 夏統.

2 Does this passage indicate a knowledge of gunpowder fireworks at that date?

"formance, but T'ung felt objection to it. They unanimously urged "him, saying, 'Your step-father has been ill and is now cured, "and old and young consider this as an occasion for congratulation; "as he is offering his sacrifices, everybody is anxious to go and "congratulate him; cannot you go with us?' And T'ung went with "them. No sooner had he entered the door than he saw Tan "and Chu in the central courtyard, dancing with light steps and "whirling round and round; they uttered a language of spirits and "laughed like spectres, caused basins to spin and fly against each "other, and with gestures as though flying invited one another to "drink. T'ung stood horror-stricken; off he ran, not through the "gate, but right through the fence, and went home.

"'Sirs', he cried reproachfully, 'why did you receive such ominous "spectral beings into our home and are you idly amusing yourselves "with them in the dark of night? why do you unbridle your vicious "instincts and your licentious habits, thus throwing the social laws "concerning the relation between the two sexes into confusion, and "annulling the rules of chastity and distinction of rank?' And he "hid himself in his bed, and lay down with disordered hair, without "saying one word more. All his kinsmen stood apart respectfully "and timidly; they sent Tan and Chu away, and all dispersed." [1]

This narrative is instructive. Shamans, dervishes, bazirs and balians, wĕwalen, and all members of Asiatic animistic priesthood generally

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[1] 其從父敬寧祠先人、迎女巫章丹陳珠二人、並有國色。莊服甚麗、善歌儛、又能隱形匿影。甲夜之初撞鐘擊鼓、間以絲竹、丹珠乃援刀、破舌、吞刀、吐火、雲霧杳冥、流光電發。

統諸從兄弟欲往觀之、難統。於是共紿之曰、從父間疾病得瘳、大小以爲喜慶、欲因其祭祠並往賀之、卿可俱行乎。統從之。入門忽見丹珠在中庭輕步佪儛、靈談、鬼笑、飛觸挑柈、酬酢翩翻。統驚愕而走、不由門、破藩直出歸。

責諸人曰、奈何諸君迎此妖物、夜與游戲、放傲逸之情、縱奢淫之行、亂男女之禮、破貞高之節、何也。遂隱牀上、被髮而臥、不復言。衆親踧踖卽退、遣丹珠、各各分散。Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 94, l. 4.

are well known to exhibit their possession by dancing to drums and music at religious festivities, and to occupy themselves with magical arts and tricks of legerdemain, ascribed to the power of the divinity which possesses them: — here we see the wu of China described as behaving in like manner. Their ecstasy, manifested by dancing and ascribed to possession, is, of course, produced or furthered by the monotonous music and drumming. The statement that the above priestly couple cut their tongues is the earliest printed reference to a strange custom of self-mutilation which, as we shall see in Chapter IV, prevails among the wu on a large scale to this day. We finally note, that when that exemplary Hia T'ung lived, female Wu-ism had so firm a position in Chinese society, that it could boldly defy Confucian morality, which peremptorily forbids the presence of women in public before male eyes.

1. The wu as seers of spirits and as soothsayers.

We have demonstrated on pp. 1166 *sqq.* that a man by the possession of a shen of peculiar strength may also possess a second sight, enabling him to discover spectres with their doings and designs, and then to modify and frustrate the latter. But that same second sight will, of course, enable him to see also good spirits; and therefore, as the Chinese express it, he may "have intercourse with these shen" or "understand them" [1], and exert influence upon their wills and ways. The extent of his capacities on this head altogether is exactly equivalent to the excellence and quantity of the shen substance which dwells in him.

It is then by no means necessary that a man, to be a seer and magician, should be a professional wu. In the fourth century of our era Yü Pao stated this fact in the following lines: "Hia-heu "Hung himself declared, that he could see spectres and speak with "them. The riding-horse of one Sié Shang of Chen-si having sud- "denly died, this man said to Hung, 'If you restore it to life, "you are the real spectre-seer'. Hung absented himself for a while; "he came back, and said, 'The god in the temple took a fancy to "your horse and appropriated it, but it will presently revive'. Shang "sat down by the dead animal, and forthwith his horse came run-

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[1] 通神.

"ning back out of the temple-gate and disappeared into the carcase, "which at the same moment moved, rose, and walked." [1]

Nevertheless the *rôle* of animistic seers and magicians is in China conferred in particular on the Wu-ist priesthood, whose possession by spirits naturally implies the power of seeing and controlling these beings. As early as the fourth century Koh Hung wrote, that "in the books about divine Immortals mention is made of magic "power to call down gods and arraign and punish spectres, as also "magic enabling men to see spectres. Ordinary men, when they "hear of such things, are wont to say that it is all idle words; "some even pretend that there exist no kwei or shen at all "under the sky; others say, that if there are such beings, yet the "kwei cannot be arraigned, nor the shen evoked; and besides "there are others who say, that seers of spectres are hih of the "male sex or wu of the female, and that their second sight is a "natural gift, which cannot be acquired by study or practice." [2]

To this assertion we may add, that the seer who, according to Yü Pao, was asked by the emperor King of the Wu dynasty in the third century of our era for medical advice, and could see the spirit of a goose which was dead and buried, was a hih (see page 543). The same author tells us of yet other ghost-seers of the Wu-ist profession. "Sun Siün of Wu had killed the princess Chu, and "buried her in a rocky hill. When Kwei-ming had ascended the "throne (A. D. 264), this emperor wished to remove her remains "into another grave. Her grave and the others were, however, so simi-"lar that they could not be distinguished from each other; but the "inmates of the Palace well remembered what dress the princess wore

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[1] 夏侯弘自云見鬼、與其言語。鎮西謝尚所乘馬忽死、謝曰、卿若能令此馬生者、卿眞爲見鬼也。弘去良久、還曰、廟神樂君馬、故取之、今當活。尚對死馬坐、須臾馬忽自門外走還、至馬尸間便滅、應時能動起行。*Sheu shen ki*, chapter 2.

[2] 神僊集中有召神劾鬼之法、又有使人見鬼之術。俗人聞之、皆謂虛文、或云天下無鬼神、或云有之亦不可劾召、或云見鬼者在男爲覡、在女爲巫、當須自然、非可學而得. *Pao P'oh tszĕ*, sect. II, 論僊.

"when she perished. The emperor told two w u to take position each "in a different spot to discover the soul, and he gave orders to watch "them, lest they should approach one another. After a while both "w u reported that they had seen a woman over thirty years of "age, with a blue embroidered headband, a red tunic, a white "petticoat, and shoes of vermilion silk, who came forth from the "rocky hill, ascended halfway up it, there stopped for a while, and "went back to a grave, where she halted, lingered about for some "time, and suddenly vanished. As the reports of the two men tallied "without any collusion, that grave was opened, and the dress "of the corpse was found to answer to the description which had "been given of it." [1]

Under the emperor Hiao Wu (A. D. 454—465) of the first Sung dynasty "there was a w u, who could see spirits and assured "the emperor that it would be possible to make his secondary "consort appear. The emperor was very glad for it, and bade him "evoke her. In a few moments she was actually seen on a curtain "in the shape which she had had when alive. The emperor desired "to speak with her, but she remained silent, and just as he would "fain have grasped her hand, she vanished. His sorrow was increased "by this incident." [2] This story bears a striking resemblance to that of the emperor Wu of the Early Han dynasty, which we have translated on page 87 from the Historical Records.

The capacity of the Wu-ist priesthood to see spirits, and to have intercourse with them and understand them, naturally raised its

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[1] 吳孫峻殺朱主、埋於石子岡。歸命卽位、將欲改葬之。冢墓相互、不可識別、而宮人頗識主亡時所著衣服。乃使兩巫各住一處、以伺其靈、使察覽之、不得相近。久時二人俱白見一女人、年可三十餘、上著青錦束頭、紫白袷裳、丹綈絲履、從石子岡上半岡、小住、須臾更進一冢上便止、徘徊良久、奄然不見。二人之言不謀而合、於是開冢、衣服如之. *Sheu shen ki*, chapter 2.

[2] 時有巫者能見鬼、說帝言貴妃可致。帝大喜、令召之。有少頃果於帷中見形如平生。帝欲與之言、默然不對、將執手、奄然便歇。帝尤哽恨。 History of the South, chapter 11, l. 8.

members to the rank of soothsayers through whom gods and ancestors manifested their will and desires, and their decisions about human fate. Occasionally, as we have seen on pages 1206 and 1209, in that capacity they have even seduced grandees to scheme and plot for the elevation of themselves or others to imperial dignity, thus giving ample reason to crowned heads for viewing their class as a continual source of insidious political danger, and strictly forbidding their prophesying practices. Thus in A. D. 485 did Kao Tsu of the Wei dynasty; "in the ninth year of the T'ai hwo period he "decreed, that the wu and hih were strictly forbidden to foretell "good or bad fortune under pretext of doing so by means of shen "or kwei" [1]. Undoubtedly, the enactment of such edicts as a rule signified cruel persecution and execution; nevertheless political events under the impulse of Wu-ist inspiration often repeated themselves. "Lo Hung-sin (835—898), whose name of maturity was Teh-feu, "was a native of Kwei-hiang in Wei-cheu, an excellent horseman "and archer, a martial figure. In Wei-cheu a wu said to him, "'An old grey-haired man sends me to you with the expression of "his gratitude; you are destined to become the owner of this earth'. "But Hung-sin said, 'Does that god intend to bring danger upon "me?' When Chao Wen-pien was dead, the soldiers asked, 'Who "is willing to become the commander of our army?' Hung-sin "answered immediately, 'A god has appointed me for that task'. "The troops crowded around him to see him, and as they saw that "he was the proper man, they placed him at their head" [2]. This event occurred in the second month of the year 888.

Before the emperor Fei [3] of the short-lived posterior T'ang dynasty obtained possession of the throne, he had revolted in A. D. 934 against Ming Tsung [4], his adoptive father, at the instigation of five coun-

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[1] 太和九年詔曰、諸巫覡假稱神鬼、妄說吉凶、嚴加禁斷. Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 7, I, l. 21.

[2] 羅弘信、字德孚、魏州貴鄉人、善騎射、狀貌雄偉。魏州有巫告弘信曰、白頭老人使謝君、君當有是地。弘信曰、神欲危我耶。趙文玠死、衆曰、孰願主吾軍者。弘信輒曰、神命我矣。衆環視、以爲宜、遂立之. Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 210, l. 19. Also the Old Books of the same House, chapter 181, l. 6.

[3] 廢. [4] 明宗.

sellors, one of whom, "Fang Kao by name, admired whatever k w e i, "s h e n and the w u - c h u h said. There was then a blind person, "Chang Mung by name, who pretended to have in his employ the "god of the T'ai-poh mountain, namely Ts'ui Hao, (a minister) of "the Wei dynasty. All good or evil which that person foretold "came true, and Fang Kao, who had great confidence in him, "introduced him to the (future) emperor.... When the emperor "was about to rise in rebellion, his warriors were not numerous "and his provisions scarce, so that he wavered and hesitated greatly. "At his order Fang Kao then asked Chang Mung for advice; "and as this man transmitted the following words of the god, "'Prince, you are destined to become the owner of the world "under the sky, and you need therefore have no anxiety at all', "he made up his mind to revolt". Ming Tsung then died; his son Min [1] ascended the throne, and Fei unfurled the standards of rebellion. "On his order, Fang Kao interrogated that spirit again, who "said, 'Prince, your warriors are not numerous, but the army of the "east is coming to you in order to receive you'; and indeed, the "eastern army revolted, and submitted to him. He then occupied "the capital (Loh-yang), and ascended the throne.... From that "time, his intimacy with Fang Kao and his confidence in him "became greater than ever they were, and he managed matters "exclusively with the advice of w u - c h u h" [2]. These priests and their inspiring divinities proved, however, unable to secure Fei's life and throne, for as early as the eleventh month in A. D. 936, when the Khitan Tartars were marching up to his capital, he burned himself in his palace.

Descriptive accounts of the ways in which in bygone ages the w u were wont to conjure and consult spirits, are, I believe, very

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1 愍.

2 房暠喜鬼神巫祝之說。有瞽者張濛、自言事太白山神、神魏崔浩也。其言吉凶無不中、暠素信之、嘗引濛見...帝將反而兵少、又乏食、由此甚懼。使暠問濛、濛傳神語曰、王當有天下、可無憂、於是決反...又遣暠問神、神曰、王兵少、東兵來、所以迎王也、已而東兵果叛、降于帝。帝入京師卽位... 由是暠益見親信、而專以巫祝用事.
History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 27, ll. 3 *seq.*

scarce, for not more than one have I been able to discover. It occurs in a booklet of the ninth century of our era, written by one Li Fuh-yen [1] and entitled *Suh yiu kwai luh* [2] or "Supplementary *Yiu kwai luh*"; this *Yiu kwai luh* or "Record of Wonders of Mysticism" was also written in the T'ang period by one Wang Yun [3]:

"In the first year of the Yuen hwo period (A. D. 806), Lu "Tsung-shi [4] was, as Vice-Superintendent of the six Boards, invested "with the government of Tseh and Lu (in Shansi)... (Afterwards), "when in Khang-cheu (in Kwangtung pr.), he was ordered by the "emperor to commit suicide, a former intent to revolt having been "completely discovered.

"In the first year of the Pao lih period (825) the prefect of "Mung-cheu (in Kwangtung), Li Siang by name, was travelling "from this prefecture to the Imperial residence. He was conscious "of being nothing more or better than merely a prefect of an out "of the way department somewhere on the sea-shore, none of whose "relations lived in terraced houses or were privileged to appear one "day before the supreme head of the empire; in fact, nothing "better was he than a flat-bottomed boat drifting on an ocean vast "and wide. Hence, hearing that a female wu in the district of "Twan-khi knew the future, he moored his boat there, and bade "her come. [5]

"When she came she said, 'I can discover future things because "I am a spirit-seer who can summon spirits by calling them "hither. There are two kinds of spirits, viz. spirits which enjoy "happiness and blessing, and others which are poor and mean; "the former have a vital spirit (tsing shen) which is so vigorous "and healthy that it enables them to speak themselves with men "from time to time, while the latter have a breath which is so "weak, and a shen which is so exhausted, that they are obliged "to employ me to act as their mouth-piece. The sole question

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[1] 李復言. [2] 續幽怪錄. [3] 王惲.

[4] A biography of this statesman occurs in the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 132, l. 8, and in the New Books, chapter 141, l. 8.

[5] 盧從史元和初以左僕射節制澤潞...既而逆跡盡露、賜死於康州。

寶歷元年蒙州刺史李湘去郡歸闕。自以海隅郡守、無臺閣之親一旦造上國、若扁舟泛滄海者。聞端溪縣女巫者知未來之事、維舟、召焉。

"now is, of which kind will be the one whom we shall meet; it "is not in my power to know this'.

"Li Siang now asked, 'What now is the way to find a spirit "for an interview?' And her answer was, 'Under the tsʿiu tree "in front of this hall stands a man in a red dress to which a "fish is fastened; he says he is Lu (Tsung-shi) of Tseh and Lu, "second Superintendent of the Boards; salute him with bows'. And "Siang, dressed in his ceremonial attire and with a memorial tablet "in his hands, went to that tree and performed his obeisances. "'The Superintendent has returned your obeisances', said the wu, "and Siang, his clasped hands politely raised, went up the steps. "A voice in the air then said, 'Lu Tsung-shi has died here in this "hall, strangled by a bow-string; even now he abhors such strings; "kindly let that bow be removed from above your divan, Sir'. And "Siang forthwith had it taken away.[1]

"There was only one divan in the hall of that posting-house, "standing above the side-steps. Siang, forgetting that the spirit had "been bearer of a dignity higher than his, was about to seat himself "on it and begin the interrogation, when the wu exclaimed, 'Sir, "this is a discourtesy; the dignity of a Vice-Superintendent is "higher than yours; would you not invite him to sit down, instead "of acting as if he were a petty official? He is now going away in "great indignation; quick, run after him with humble apologies, "that he may deign to come back'. And Siang, having prostrated "himself with his face to the ground, hurried down the steps, asked "in which direction the spirit had gone, and made a bow at every "pace; and after a few dozen paces a voice up in the air was heard. "'So gross a mistake!' said it; 'your office is even lower than

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[1] 巫到曰、某能知未來之事、乃見鬼者呼之皆可召。然有二等、有福德之鬼、有貧賤之鬼、福德者精神俊爽、往往自與人言、貧賤者氣劣神瘁、假某以言。事盡在所遇、非某能知也。

湘曰、安得鬼而問之。曰、廳前楸樹下有一人、衣紫佩魚、自稱澤潞盧僕射、可拜而請之。湘乃公服執簡向樹而拜。女巫曰、僕射已答拜、湘遂揖上階。空中言曰、從吏死於此廳、爲弓弦所迫、今尙惡之、使君牀上弓幸除去之。湘遽命去焉。

"that of a lieutenant in my army, and yet you presumed to sit "down in my presence!' and Siang had to apologize again and again "before the ghost would return. 'The Vice-Superintendent is coming!' "said the wu; and Siang, his hands clasped on his breast, walked "back, and when he was at the steps, the wu exclaimed: 'The "Vice-Superintendent ascends'! She placed a second divan on the "spot, and laid out a mat upon it to invite the spirit to sit down, "and when she had said 'Sit down', Siang seated himself. [1]

"'What has that gentleman to ask?' said a voice in the air. 'He is "an officer from a distant region, Siang by name, travelling to the "imperial residence, and a prey to the greatest doubts and cares; "most humbly he begs to be favoured with one word telling him "whether glory or distress is in store for him'. And the voice in "the air answered, 'He shall be welcomed there by many people, "and in a month after his arrival in the city he shall be prefect of "Wu-cheu'. Siang too put some questions, which the spirit left "unanswered, and said, 'Vice-President, it is long since you left "the human world; why did you never return among men, but "stay all that time in the nether world?' — 'O', was the answer, "'what talk is this! in the world of men it is all toil and misery; "myriads of cares lie there coiled around every man's heart, and "the end of it is like that of a moth in a lamp; it is all strife "and fighting there for fame and gain; and when distress and cares "have finally been overcome, the hair is white, the soul is a wreck, "and the body is weak and lean, a wave (of sorrow) a myriad of "fathoms in length having passed over every square inch of it. "Men envy and assail each other there with more cruel ferocity "than even wild beasts; Buddha therefore called that world 'a "house in the fire', and taught that the human material existence

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[1] 時驛廳副階上只有一榻。湘偶忘其貴、將坐間之、女巫曰、使君無禮、僕射官高、何不迎坐、乃將吏視之、僕射大怒去矣、急隨拜謝、或肯却來。湘匍匐、下階、問其所向、一步一拜、凡數十步空中曰、大錯、公之官未敵吾軍一裨將、奈何對我而自坐、湘再三辭謝、方肯却回。女巫曰、僕射却廻矣、於是拱立而行、及階、女巫曰、僕射上矣。別置榻而設茵褥以延之、巫曰、坐矣、湘乃坐。

"is the greatest of evils. Released from that world, I am now gazing "down into that fiery whirlpool; to think that I should go down "again and lay myself therein!'... Siang further asked what would "happen to him after his stay in Wu-cheu, but the ghost was "silent, and left him.

"On his arrival in the capital he wanted financial help, in order "to be able to bestow the customary presents, and it was readily "afforded him by several people. And ere a month had elapsed he "was appointed prefect of Wu-cheu. The prophecy thus came per- "fectly true. He ended his life in Wu-cheu, and this was the "reason why Lu did not tell him about the things that would "occur after his residence there." [1]

This description of a spiritualistic *séance* fully entitles us to suspect Wu-ism of the practice of ventriloquism. [2] It is noteworthy that the revelations of that spirit consisted merely in talk rising in no way above the level of vulgarity. But to vulgar minds even the most silly oracular language is of a higher order. We need not doubt that Wu-ism has been thus exploited in all ages as a rich source of revelations from the other life. Souls have in this wise been enabled to give accounts of their experience and fate, their tortures

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1 空中曰、使君何所問。對曰、湘遠官歸朝憂疑之極、伏乞畧賜一言、示其榮悴。空中曰、大有人接引、到城一月當刺梧州。湘又問、不復言、湘因問曰、僕射去人寰久矣、何不還生人中而久處冥。曰、吁是何言哉、人世勞苦、萬愁纏心、盡如燈蛾、爭樸名利、愁勝而髮白、神敗而形羸、方寸之間波瀾萬丈。相妬相賊猛於豪獸、故佛以世界爲火宅、道以人身爲大患。吾已免離、下視湯火、豈復低身而臥其間乎...復問梧州之後、終不言乃去。

湘到輦下以其貨求助、助者數人。未一月拜梧州刺史。皆如其言。竟終於梧州、盧所以不便言其後事也.

2 It presents striking analogies with the episode of the witch of Endor (I Samuel, 28), who called up before Saul the spirit of Samuel, which she alone could see; he bowed to it with his face to the ground, and did obeisance, and they spoke together; and Saul having asked for advice, Samuel's ghost prophesied about the impending fate of his kingdom. See also Isaiah VIII, 19, and XXIX, 4.

and woe in hell; opportunity has been thus at the same time afforded to them to mention the religious rites and Buddhist masses by which their pains might be assuaged by their sorrowing offspring, and the quantity of paper money, clothes, and requisites of life that ought for that purpose to be burned for them; but all those revelations will hardly ever have divulged anything beyond what Buddhism or Taoism had to teach in every age on the subject of the life hereafter.

Our hypothesis, set forth on page 1201, that Wu-ism also prevailed in countries contiguous to China proper, is confirmed by a page in the Chinese standard history of the Tartar House of Nüchen [1] in Liaotung. This informs us that a ruler of that House in the eleventh century was positively addicted to belief in its prophetic practices. His name was Shiklu [2], but he is known in history by his posthumous temple-name Chao Tsu [3]; he was the great-great-grandfather of T'ai Tsu [4], who assumed imperial dignity in 1115, and gave his House the name of Kin. "This emperor "Chao Tsu had been childless for a long time. There was a wu "who could speak the language of a shen, which proved very "reliable. The emperor went to pray to that spirit, and after a "while the wu said, 'Yonder comes the soul of a son who will "largely enjoy felicity and blessing, and whose offspring will glori-"ously prosper; do obeisance and accept this child; and when it "is born, call it Ukunai'. This child afterwards became the emperor "King Tsu. Then, after another pause, the wu said, 'The soul of "a girl has now come; call her Ngalun'. Again there was a pause, "after which she said, 'Prognostics of a daughter appear again; "let her name be Kantupat'. And once more after some moments "she said, 'Prognostics of another son are now visible; his cha-"racter will be neither docile, nor good; he will grow up a but-"cher, indifferent, ungrateful for all that his parents do for him, "and he is sure to commit disloyal acts; you had better not accept "him'. But Chao Tsu just bore in his mind that no offspring had "yet been born to him, and said, that though that son might not "be a good one, he would rather have him too. 'Call him Ukuchut', "said the wu.

"Afterwards two sons and two daughters were born to him in "the same sequence as the wu had predicted, and the names were

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[1] 女眞. [2] 石魯. [3] 昭祖. [4] 太祖.

"given them which the wu had ordered. When King Tsu had "ascended the throne, Ukuchut indulged in drunkenness; and as "often as he behaved obstinately towards the empress Wei-shun, "she said, 'The wu has spoken true'." [1]

Chinese authors, whether influenced or not by Confucian animosity and prejudice, frequently declare that the Wu-ist priesthood has included the basest characters who stained its name by vile abuse of their knowledge of things to come for mere selfish or even rebellious purposes. It was about the year 1320, when Yü P'an [2] was judge in Siang-hiang [3] in the present Hunan, "that there came a "wu to that department, who pretended that a shen descended "unto him. He told the people that there would be a conflagration "in such a place, and the fire indeed broke out there. Then he "said, that the next day there would be a fire in this or that "place, and whenever the people reported an outbreak to Yü P'an, "this officer ran to the rescue either by day or night, even several "dozens of time, oblivious of his bed and his meals. All the officers "of that district, high and low, welcomed this wu in their homes, "and overwhelmed him with courtesy.

"Then the wu predicted a great inundation and an invasion of "the department by soldiery, and in consequence the well-to-do fled "with all they had in their houses. Yü P'an had arrested a soldier who "had pilfered during the conflagrations; and when he examined this

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[1] 初昭祖久無子。有巫者能道神語、甚驗。乃往禱焉、巫良久曰、男子之魂至矣、此子厚而福德、子孫昌盛、可拜而受之、若生則名之曰烏古迺。是爲景祖。又良久曰、女子之魂至矣、可名曰五鵶忍。又良久曰、女子之兆復見、可名曰斡都拔。又久之復曰、男子之兆復見、然性不馴良、長則殘忍、無親親之恩、必行非義、不可受也。昭祖方念後嗣未立、乃曰、雖不良、亦願受之。巫者曰、當名之曰烏古出。

既而生二男二女、其次第先後皆如巫者之言、遂以巫所命名名之。景祖初立、烏古出酗酒、屢悖威順皇后、后曰、巫言驗矣. History of the Kin Dynasty, chapter 65, l. 4.

[2] 虞槃. [3] 湘鄉.

"man under torture, he extorted the confession that the Wu-ist "priesthood had caused them. Now Yü P'an charged the official "thief-catchers with complicity, and summoned that wu in order to "examine him, but nobody had the courage to administer the whip "or the bamboo lath to him. It was not before P'an had cried to "the constables, 'How can people, who are employed in creating great "confusion, possibly have a god or godly power within them!' "that they belaboured him properly. This proceeding opened the "way to the arrest of the whole gang, which was several dozens "strong and had its web both in the city and abroad. They really "had been plotting a revolutionary rising; but now none of their "fellow-conspirators ventured to show himself, and each of them "said to the rest, 'Sir, do it yourself'. P'an passed sentence on "the wu and his gang in accordance with the law." [1]

In the writings of Ch'en Kwah, which date from the eleventh century, we find the wu in their capacity of seers represented as very far-sighted, and able to look through opaque matter and to read human thoughts. "In Shan-yang (in Kiangsu pr.) lives a female "wu, whose shen displays spiritual power (ling) in the very "highest degree. My uncle once called her and interrogated her, "and she proved able to reveal anything he wanted to know from "her about things in this human world, even though they were "more than a thousand miles off. She even knew the thoughts "arising in others. Guests who were just then playing draughts "held in their hands some white or black draughtsmen which they "had previously counted, and asked her how many there were, and "she gave the answer correctly every time; but then they took

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[1] 有巫至其州、稱神降。告其人曰、某方火、卽火。又曰明日某方火、民以火告者槃皆赴救、至達晝夜告者數十、寢食盡廢。縣長吏以下皆迎巫至家、厚禮之。

又曰、將有大水且兵至州、大家皆盡室逃。槃得刼火卒一人、訊之、盡得巫黨所爲。坐捕盜司、召巫至鞫之、無敢施鞭箠者。槃謂卒曰、此將爲大亂安有神乎、急治之。盡得黨與數十人、羅絡內外。果將爲變者、同僚皆不敢出現、曰君自爲之。槃乃斷巫并其黨如法. History of the Yuen Dynasty, chapter 181, l. 13.

"handfuls without counting them, and she could not mention their "numbers. It was thus evident that she could know what others "knew, but not what others did not bear in their minds.

"She was then asked about the things which were within the "linen boxes; and she could tell their number in every case. My "uncle had a copy of the Wadjra sutra in one hundred books, and "placed it in a large box; then pointing to this, he asked her what "was therein, and she said that the box was empty. As my uncle "opened it and showed her the contents, saying, 'This is a Buddhist "sutra in one hundred books; how could you speak of an empty "box?', she pondered for a while, and said, 'And yet it is an "empty box; do you think that you can make a fool of me? I say "that those things are emptiness (Nirwāṇa) in a written form'. Having "to apply her orthodox mind to the discovery of unreasonable "(Buddhist) things, her spectre or god could not see them." [1]

2. The wu as exorcising physicians.

The capacity of the wu to act the part of physicians may be considered to result naturally from the *clairvoyance* and exorcising capacity which their possession by shen affords. As we have seen on page 1203, their position as practitioners of the medical art may be traced in classical literature to the age of Confucius. We regularly find mention made of it in the literature of subsequent ages.

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[1] 山陽有一女巫、其神極靈。予伯氏嘗召問之、凡人間物、雖在千里之外、問之、皆能言。乃至人中心萌一意已能知之。坐客方奕棊、試數白黑棊握手中、問其數、莫不符合、更漫取一把棊、不數而問之、則亦不能知數。蓋人心所知者彼則知之、心所無則莫能知。

又問以巾篋中物、皆能悉數。時伯氏有金剛經百册、盛一大篋中、指以問之其中何物、則曰空篋也。伯氏乃發而示之、曰此有百册佛經、安得曰空篋、思良久又曰、空篋耳、安得欺我、此所謂文字相空。因眞心以顯非相宜、其鬼神所不能窺也. *Mung khi pit t'an*, chapter 20.

We have seen in this work (page 577) that a Chinese author as early as the fourth century of our era described the wu as hygienists who assiduously chased away foxes and lizards which were deemed to produce sickness. Others have acquainted us (p. 1068) with an astounding Wu-ist cure of an insane maid possessed by a gavial, which occurred in the fifth century, as also (p. 633) with a wu in the T'ang epoch who exorcised a crazy girl by means of drums and music, sacrifices and spells. In the same epoch the celebrated Han Yü wrote his febrifugal poem in which he described the wu as persons who ejected demons of disease by imprecation and scolding (p. 1055). And an author in the tenth century stated, that the wu for the same purpose erected altars (p. 638). Last, but not least, mention is made of wu who caught and unmasked old witches who, with the help of cats, disturbed the health and quiet of babies in the homes of harmless people (p. 819).

We have not yet, however, seen the particulars of the exorcising practice of those animistic doctors and doctoresses described by any Chinese authors. By the following written narrative we are acquainted with some few: "In the time of the T'ang dynasty there was "in Ch'u-cheu [1], in Poh-t'ien, a female wu, named Sih Rh-niang, "who pretended to expel evil spectres by employing the Great "King of the Metallic (or western) Heaven. And among the "rural population there was one Ch'en, whose daughter was so "terribly tortured by a spectre that she had fits of madness, in "which she sometimes inflicted injuries on her own self, jumping "into fire or running into water; and meanwhile she became "pregnant as if by sexual commerce with men. Her afflicted parents "sent for Sih the wu, to apply his treatment to her. [2]

"When this woman had come, they put up an altar in a room, "and laid the patient by it; then they made a large fire-pit at "the side, over which they heated an iron pan till it was red. "The wu, in full ceremonial dress, danced to the sound of music "and drums, thus calling her shen. In a few moments this spirit "descended into her, and while the spectators constantly did obeis-

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1 Now Hwai-ngan-fu 淮安府, in Kiangsu.

2 唐楚州白田有巫、曰薛二娘者、自言事金天大王能驅除邪厲。村民有沈某者、其女患魅發狂、或毀壞形體、蹈火赴水、而腹漸大若人之娠者。父母患之、迎薛巫以辨之。

"ance, she made a libation and conjured the spirit, saying, 'Forth-
"with call that demon before you'. With these words she stepped
"into the fire-pit and sat down therein, without any change being
"produced in her countenance. After a while she shook her clothes
"and rose, placed the hot pan, the bottom upward, upon her head,
"and danced to the rolling of a drum, and her ditty finished, she
"put down the pan and, in accordance with the Hunnish method,
"ordered the patient with an imperious voice to bind herself; on
"which the patient put her hands behind her back, as if to have
"them bound. Now the wu ordered the demon to make its con-
"fession, but the patient merely shed tears, and said nothing. The
"wu flew into a passion; she drew her sword and struck at the
"patient, so that the blade passed through her with a rasping
"sound, and yet the body remained unhurt; but the patient ex-
"claimed, 'I surrender!' and made the following confession: —
"'I am an old otter from the river Hwai; I fell in love with this
"maid when she was washing clothes on the sandy beach; but
"unexpectedly I have encountered you, sage mistress; pray allow
"me to retire from here; but alas for my unborn children within
"her womb! it will be more than I can hope for that you should
"not kill them at their birth, but give them back to me'. And
"she cried and she sobbed, and the bystanders were altogether
"moved by compassion. Taking a writing-pencil, she wrote a farewell
"poem, and though she had never known any characters, the verses
"which flowed from her pencil were quite beautiful. At this moment
"the patient fell asleep, and the next day she was released. She
"then related, that when at the washing place, a beautiful lad had
"seduced her, and thereupon had commerce with her. Ten days
"afterwards she was delivered of three otters. They would have
"been killed, but for somebody who said, 'That demon has placed
"confidence in us, and should we, who are men, prove untrust-
"worthy? we had better let them go free'. And he took them to
"the lake, where a large otter received them with transports of
"joy, and carried them on his back into the deep." [1]

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[1] 既至設壇於室、臥患者於壇下、旁置大火坑、燒鐵釜赫然。巫遂成服奏樂鼓舞請神。須臾神下、觀者再拜、巫奠酒祝曰、速召魅來。言畢巫入火坑中坐、顏色自若。良久振衣而起、以所燒釜覆頭鼓舞、曲終去之、遂據胡牀叱患人令自縛、

It stands to reason that the medical capacities of many a wu have been highly vaunted and extolled, even with most fantastic exaggeration. A work of the tenth century tells of "one Ch'en Chai, "a wu in Tsin-kiang in Ts'üen-cheu (in Fuhkien), who was skilled "in exorcising and conjuring magic, and very successful in his "treatment of the sick. One Su Meng, an inn-keeper in Chang-"cheu, had a son who was mad, and as nobody could cure him, "they called Ch'en Chai. He came, but no sooner had the son "seen him than he assailed him with his fists and with foul curses; "'the sickness has entered his heart', said Ch'en Chai. He put up "an altar in the hall, forbade any one to spy upon him, and "towards night cleft the lad into two halves, which he suspended "on the eastern wall of the hall; but the heart he hung under the "eaves on the north side. He then performed his magic in the hall, "during which the suspended heart was devoured by the dog. "Ch'en Chai sought for it in vain; in great consternation he grasped "his sword, and ran out of the house.[1]

患者反手如縛。敕令自陳、初泣而不言。巫大怒、操刀、斬之、剖然刀過、而體如故、患者乃曰、伏矣、自陳云、淮中老獺、因女浣沙悅之、不意遭逢聖師、乞自此屏迹、但痛腹中子未育、若生而不殺以還某是望外也。言畢嗚咽、人皆憫之。遂秉筆作別詩、其患者素不識書、至是落筆詞翰俱麗。須臾患者昏睡、翼日乃釋然。方說初浣沙時有美少年相誘、因而來往。後旬日產獺子三頭。欲殺之、或曰、彼魅也而信、我人也而妄、不如釋之。其人送於湖中、有巨獺迎躍、負而沒之. *T'ung yiu ki* 通幽記, a work unknown to me, quoted in K K, ch. 470.

[1] 陳寨者泉州晉江巫也、善禁祝之術、爲人治病多愈者。有漳州逆旅蘇猛、其子病狂、人莫能療、乃往請陳。陳至、蘇氏子見之戟手大罵、寨曰、此病入心矣。乃立壇于堂中、戒人無得竊視、至夜乃取蘇氏子劈爲兩片、懸堂之東壁、其心懸北簷下。寨方在堂中作法、所懸之心遂爲犬食。寨求之不得、驚懼乃持刀、出門而去。

"In a few moments he re-entered with a heart in his hand. He "put it into the breast of the patient, and with hair unbound gave "utterance to a series of exclamations; and lo, the breast closed, "and Su Meng's son revived, but he called incessantly 'the next "station! the next station!' None of the inmates of the house could "guess what these words meant; but that same day, some miles off, "a post-runner with an official despatch had expired at the road-"side; and in the south there is on the post-roads every twenty "miles a station where the runner has to deliver his despatch to "another runner, whom he warns of his approach by means of those "exclamations. The heart of that runner had been taken by Ch'en "Chai to revive young Su, who thereupon became as well as he "ever had been" [1].

Thus there is reason to say, that the medical attainments of Wu-ism are just as extensive as imagination which invents them. Even patients who lie in a swoon or trance because the vital spirit has been torn out of them by gods or spectres, may be cured by their powerful magic. "When a tsin-shi graduate in Hwa-cheu "(in Shensi pr.), Wang Hiun by name, was visiting there the temple "of Mount Hwa with his disciple Chao Wang-shu, the former, while "standing before the throne of the third consort of that god, pleased "this goddess by his grace and beauty, thus bewitched her, and "died at the same moment. The affrighted Wang-shu called an "animated wu, who came with spirits and dainties, and danced "before the god to the sound of a drum until Wang Hiun revived. "But Wang Hiun now turned against Wang-shu in great anger, "exclaiming, 'I found myself there released from all misery; why "have you told that animated wu to recall me with the music of "lutes?' All the bystanders laughed at these words; but when they "asked him to explain himself, he said, 'At first the woman con-"cealed me in her litter, and we were just going to rejoice in

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[1] 食頃乃持心而入。內於病者之腹、被髮連叱、其腹遂合、蘇氏子既悟、但連呼遞鋪遞鋪。家人莫之測、乃其日、去家數里、有驛吏、手持官文書、死於道旁、初南中驛路二十里置一遞鋪、驛吏持符牒以次傳授、欲近前鋪輒連呼以警之。乃寨持驛吏之心而活蘇氏子、蘇遂愈如故. *Ki shen luh*, quoted in K K, chapter 220.

"close embrace, when a complaint was lodged by Wang-shu with "the accompaniment of a lute; the king (of the Mountain) there- "upon ordered an eunuch to search the vehicle of the secondary "consort, so that she could not save herself from being dashed to "the ground, in consequence of which I revived." [1]

The animistic medical capacities of the wu must have secured for them in all ages a considerable amount of influence, and many have been raised thereby to rank and dignity. We read, for instance, that Wang Ch'u-chih, a prominent generalissimo in the period of struggle between several dynasties in the first decades of the tenth century, "favoured the wu, and gave hospitality in his house to "one, Li Ying-chi by name, a magician and impostor, who thereupon "cured him of illness by means of his heterodox practices. Thus "his belief in the divine power of this man became stronger than "ever; he ordered him to wear the dress of the doctors of Taoism, "treated him like a field-marshal, and held decisive consultations "with him concerning all military measures, whether they were "important or not." [2]

But also quite other ways of treating the wu are recorded in Standard History. Muh Tsung, one of the emperors of the Liao dynasty, "returned to his capital in the seventh year of the Ying "lih period (A. D. 957). The female wu Siao-ku had presented to "him a life-prolonging medicine which was to be mixed with gall "of boys, so that she had in a few years destroyed a great many

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[1] 華州進士王勳嘗與其徒趙望舒等入華岳廟、于第三女座悅其倩巧而蠱之、卽時便死。望舒惶懼、呼神巫、持酒饌、於神前鼓舞、久之方蘇。王怒望舒、曰、我自在彼無苦、何令神巫彈琵琶呼我。爲衆人笑、而問之、云、女初藏已於車中、適繾綣、被望舒彈琵琶告、王令一黃門搜諸婢車中、次諸女旣不得已被推落地、因爾遂活矣. *Kwang i ki*; quoted in TS, sect. 人事, chapter 99.

[2] 王處直好巫而客有李應之者、妖妄人也、處直有疾、應之以左道治之而愈。處直益以爲神、使衣道士服、以爲行軍司馬、軍政無大小咸取決焉. History of the Five Dynasties, chapter 39, l. 9.

"lives. But now the emperor became aware of her imposture, and "shot her on the day sin-szĕ." [1]

"In the Khai pao period (968—976) Li Wei-tsʿing put aside "the dress of the people to become prefect of Feu-ling (in Szĕ-"chʿwen). The people of Shuh, bent on heterodox sacrifices, listened "to the wu and the hih in all cases of incurable illness; therefore "Wei-tsʿing arrested the principal among the latter and flogged "them with bamboo laths. The people felt sure that he would now "incur some calamity, but as he flogged them once more the next "day, they became convinced of their lack of spiritual power. He "thereupon instructed the people in the use of medicines, and in "this way gradually modified their customs." [2]

It was about one century later that "Heu Kho ruled the Hwa-"chʿing district in Pa-cheu (in Szĕ-chʿwen). The people of Pa had "so much regard for spectres that they even had abandoned the use "of medicines, and followed no other directions than those which "the wu gave. At every marriage the wu exacted a sum of "money, so that the daughters of the poor had to remain unmar-"ried till their old age. Heu Kho took measures against those "things, and made rescripts and laws, and punished the trangres-"sors, and in this way he almost entirely changed those practi-"ces." [3] — And, somewhat at the beginning of the twelfth century, "Tsiang Tsing, having taken his tsin-shi degree, became prefect "of Ngan-jen. The people there were so attached to Wu-ism that, "when contagious disease was rife, the sick preferred to die rather "than to use medicines. For this reason Tsiang Tsing passed sen-

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[1] 穆宗應歷七年還上京。初女巫肖古上延年藥方、當用男子膽和之、不數年殺人甚多。至是覺其妄、辛已射殺之. History of the Liao Dynasty, chapter 6, l. 4.

[2] 李惟清開寶中解褐涪陵尉。蜀民尚淫祠、病不療治聽於巫覡、惟清檛大巫笞之。民以爲及禍、他日又加箠焉、民知不神。然後教以醫藥、稍變風俗. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 267, l. 24.

[3] 侯可知巴州化城縣。巴俗尚鬼而廢醫、惟巫言是用。娶婦必責財、貧人女致老不得嫁。可爲約束、立制度、違者有罪、幾變其習. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 456, l. 17.

"tence on the wu everywhere; he collected the heterodox images, "which were used and worshipped by them, to the number of "three hundred, smashed them, and flung them into the river." [1]

3. Wu-ism employed and persecuted by the State.

In works which are reputed in China to date from the classical age, male and female wu are, as we have seen in Chapter I, described as persons of official standing, by whose invocations and other performances at the celebration of sacrifices the spirits came down to enjoy the offerings. There are also in one of the books of the *Li ki* three characters [2] which point to their appearance in that *rôle*, as they seem to state that, at sacrifices, "the wu had their place in front of the sovereign". But there is nothing in the ancient books which indicates that on such occasions they presented the offerings. This fact is noteworthy, as it may explain why Wu-ism has never occupied a conspicuous place as a sacrificial priesthood in the State Religion which the dynasty of Han built up, for all following ages, out of material exclusively provided by the classical works of the Confucian school.

This does not imply that Wu-ist practices have in all times been strictly and rigorously banished from that religion. The wu, as we admit, were China's only pristine priesthood, forming an integral element of Chinese life from the earliest time; they were therefore able to hold their place tenaciously in the official religion by mere dint of pious conservatism, which at all times in China has exercised certainly not less influence than elsewhere in the world. We have pointed out on pp. 1200, 1201 and 1205, by means of quotations from standard historical works, that emperors of the Han dynasty had many wu in their employ for the presentation of their private sacrifices, thus simply yielding to the religious instincts of themselves and the whole race of which they were the supreme lords. But, to comprehend this, we must take into consideration the fact that the

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[1] 蔣靜第進士、調安仁令。俗好巫、疫癘流行、病者寧死不服藥。靜悉論巫罪、聚其所事淫像、得三百軀、毀而投諸江. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 356, l. 12.

[2] 王前巫. Section 禮運, IV, l. 2.

State Religion at that time was merely in its period of inception, and had by no means advanced to the full maturity of an ultra-rigid system rejecting everything non-classical as damnable heterodoxy; there then existed nothing as yet to restrain the personal liberty of that monarch in point of religion.

But time came when the State Religion firmly established its supremacy, and Wu-ism as a consequence was ejected from it. This process we find depicted in one of the chapters of the standard history of the Tartar house of Topa, which at first employed the wu in its official religion, but ultimately, when this had been organized on the Confucian model, expelled them from it. We read there, that the founder of that dynasty in the year 400 of our era instituted or celebrated a series of sacrifices, "at all of which female wu conducted the service" [1]. At a solemn sacrifice which he offered to Heaven in A. D. 405, "female wu with drums (or tambourines?) "in their hands stood at the east side of the altar steps, their "faces turned westward; seven lads selected from the ten branches "of the Imperial House, bearing sacrificial spirits, stood on the "south side of those wu, with their faces to the west, and the "principal among them on the north side. Female wu ascended "the altar, and shook their tambourines" [2], the emperor and the officers thereupon making prostrations and presenting the sacrificial articles. But, in 472, a decree of the emperor Wen breathed a quite different spirit. "The Canon of Sacrificial Worship is dormant and "fallen to the ground; the ritual and ceremonial statutes are in a "lethargy or destroyed, in consequence of which female wu and "sorcerous hih have in a heterodox way introduced rites which "are wrongful. They drum and dance when the sacrificial victims "are being killed; as musicians and chanters they indulge in sexual "familiarities; how can the gods of light be honoured with such "practices? can the promulgators of the Tao of the Sages be wor-"shipped in that wise? From this moment, and for ever in future, "it shall be the rule in the temples of Confucius to offer spirits "and flesh with nothing more, and without any married or un-"married women (wu) officiating there to pray for unexpected

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1 皆女巫行事. Books of the Wei Dynasty, chapter 108, I. l. 3.

2 女巫執鼓立於陛之東、西面、選帝之十族子弟七人執酒在巫南、西面、北上。女巫升壇搖鼓。 *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 4.

"blessing. Those who violate this order shall be punished as trans-
"gressors of Our rescripts" [1].

Exclusion of the wu from the celebration of canonical sacrifices of the State Religion did not, however, include their dismissal as exorcists and destroyers of evil; and emperors, as ever before, might freely charge them with the presentation of sacrifices to certain State gods, in order to avert dangers from the realm and throne. In the time of the T'ang dynasty, under the reign of Suh Tsung (756—763), the minister "Wang Yü proposed that an altar should "be erected to the god T'ai-yih on the east side of the southern "suburb, and he requested that His Majesty should go thither "in person to sacrifice and worship. But ere Suh Tsung was pre-"pared to do so, the deviner in chief declared that the hills and "streams of the empire harboured spectral evil. Wang Yü therefore "sent female wu in different directions throughout the empire, in "order to pray and sacrifice to the famous mountains and large "streams. These women travelled in complete ceremonial attire in "relays; officers of the Palace (eunuchs?) were directed by the emperor "to keep watch over them. But roguery was the result; wherever they "came, they exacted gifts and presents through the medium of the "head policemen. One of these wu, a beauty of mature age who "had several dozens of depraved young men in her suite, was the "worst of all. She had put up with them in the posting-house at "Hwang-cheu, when the prefect Tso Ch'en happened to arrive there "in the morning. He found the door closed so fast that it could "not be opened, but he broke the lock and entered, dragged the wu "down the steps, and beheaded her. He also killed her wicked "young followers, and on examining her ill-gotten gains, laid hands "upon more than a hundred thousand coins. Having made an "inventory, he reported the matter to the emperor, and proposed "him to take this money instead of ground rent from the poor "people; and the Palace officers he sent back to the capital." [2]

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[1] 祠典寢頓、禮章殄滅、遂使女巫妖覡淫進非禮。殺牲鼓舞、倡優媟狎、豈所以尊明神敬聖道者也。自今已後有祭孔子廟制用酒脯而已、不聽婦女合雜、以祈非望之福。犯者以違制論. *Op. cit.*, chapter 7, I, l. 2.

[2] 王璵又奏置太一神壇於南郊之東、請上躬行祀事。肅宗嘗不豫、太卜云祟在山川。璵乃遣

Of Suh Tsung's grandson, Teh Tsung [1], it is stated that "after "his accession (in 780) he discontinued the meetings of Buddhist "priests at altars in the Palace, and abolished the sacrifices of wu-"chuh". [2] Nevertheless, as we have read on page 477, this monarch employed wu-chuh as sacrificing exorcists on the occasion of a spectre-panic in his residence. State servants followed such examples of their sovereign lords. We read, for instance, that in the same eighth century "Chang Shoh was prefect of P'ing-ch'ang in Teh-"cheu (in Shantung pr.), when a great drought prevailed, and "prayers against the calamity were, by order of the Governor, said "by shi p'o (female wu) and Buddhist priests for more than "twenty days. Nothing resulting, Feu-hiu-tszĕ (*i. e.* Chang Shoh) "dashed to the ground a dragon of clay; and that same night "there fell as much rain as was wanted." [3]

The Tartar dynasty of Liao is also known to have employed wu for the performance of exorcising work. When Shing Tsung [4] had died in A. D. 1030, and his encoffined remains were placed on the funeral car, "the wu drove away evil from it" [5]; and in the place where sacrifices were presented to him, "the chief wu prayed and

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女巫分行天下、祈祭名山大川。巫皆盛服乘傳而行、上令中使監之。因緣爲姦、所至干託長吏以邀賂遺。一巫盛年而美、以惡少年數十自隨、尤爲蠹弊。與其徒宿於黃州傳舍、刺史左震晨至。驛門扃鐍不可啟、震破鎖而入、曳女巫階下斬之。所從惡少年皆斃、閱其贓賂十數萬。震籍以上聞、仍請贓錢代貧民租稅、其中使發遣歸京. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 130, l. 1. Also the New Books chapter 109, l. 13.

1 德宗.

2 卽位之後罷集僧於內道場、除巫祝之祀. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 130, l. 7.

3 唐張鷟爲德州平昌令、大旱、郡府下令以師婆及僧祈之二十餘日。無效、浮休子乃推土龍倒、其夜雨足. *Chao yé ts'ien tsai*; quoted in K K, chapter 283.

4 聖宗.

5 巫者祓除之. History of the Liao Dynasty, chapter 50, l. 1.

averted evil" [1]. The wu were for a time priests and priestesses of the official religion of the Tartar house of Kin; for we read that one of its emperors, renewing the measures of Wen of the dynasty of Topa (see page 1234), expelled them from the sacrificial worship of Confucius. "In the twenty-sixth year of the Ta ting "period (1186), in the second month, Shi Tsung issued the following "decree: Of late We have had many troubles in the border coun- "tries, and from the south (the territory still held by the House of "Sung) no envoys have as yet come to Us. In consequence of this "state of affairs the temples of Confucius have fallen into ruins, "the Sacrificial Canon has collapsed, female wu and various hih "by offering heterodox sacrifices are violating the ritual and social "laws. From this moment it shall be the rule at sacrifices in the "temples of Confucius to present spirits and flesh, without anything "more being done. Violation of this Our order shall be punished "as transgression of Our rescripts" [2].

The Confucian State Religion is, from its own point of view, the only true religion, as it alone represents the religion of Antiquity, which is that of the Tao or Order of the World, established on earth by the holy Ancestry and embodied in the Classics. Therefore, since the right of Wu-ism to a place in the State Religion has always been considered highly contestable, and even has been totally rejected, the Wu-ist practices are confessedly heterodox and its priests are false priests, dangerous for the rectitude of the human race and its government, the highest duty of both of whom it is to work and move in the one and indivisible path of the Tao. Good Confucians then are always *a priori* justified when they consider and decry the wu as a perverse rabble, Wu-ism as a social and political evil; and those among those worthies whom the Imperial Government invests with ruling power almost at discretion, that is to say the mandarins, are even in duty bound to suppress it, and to persecute its professors. Hence it is that, as we have learned in the preceding chapter from textual evidence, cruelly harsh measures

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1 太巫祈禳. *Op. et loc. cit.*

2 世宗大定二十六年二月詔曰、曩者邊場多事、南方未賓。致令孔廟頹落、禮典陵遲、女巫雜覡淫祀違禮。自今有祭孔廟制用酒脯而已。犯者以違制論. *Jih chi luh*, chapter 14.

against the wu are so often recorded in history. A few more instances may be mentioned here.

"On Jen Tsung's accession to the throne (in 1023), Hia Sung was "commissioned to govern the three departments of Sheu, Ngan, and "Hung (in Nganhwui pr.). The people of Hung were attached to "spectre-worship, so that wu and hih deceived them frequently. "Investigation which Hia Sung made in his territory taught him "that there were more than a thousand of them; he ordered them "to take to the farming profession, and demolished their heretical "sacrificial temples. As he reported these measures to the Throne, "the emperor issued a decree to the effect that in the regions "from the Yangtszĕ and the Cheh river southward Wu-ism should "be totally forbidden and exterminated." [1]

Hardly ten years had elapsed after this memorable event, when "Ch'en Hi-liang became prefect of the district of Yü (in Shensi pr.). "There the wu and hih were in the habit of collecting every year "money among the people for sacrifices to spectres, which they "called celebration of the 'spring-lent'; otherwise fires broke out, and "it was then told among the people that three old men in red dress "were committing arson. Hi-liang prohibited those festivities, and "the people did not venture to disobey, and yet no fires broke out; "then he demolished several hundreds of their heterodox sacrificial "buildings, and compelled more than seventy wu to devote themselves to husbandry. When he laid down his dignity and departed, "the elders escorted him away across the borders of the district, "and with lamentations said, 'Now that our lord leaves us alone, "those old men in red are sure to appear again'." [2]

And when, about the year 1080, "Shang-kwan Kiün was prefect "of the district of Kwang-tseh (in Fuhkien pr.), the wu who lived

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[1] 仁宗卽位、夏竦徙壽安洪三州。洪俗尙鬼、多巫覡惑民。竦索部中得千餘家、敕還農業、毀其淫祠。以聞、詔江浙以南悉禁絶之. History of the Sung Dynasty, chapter 283, l. 13.

[2] 陳希亮徙知鄠縣。巫覡歲歛民財祭鬼、謂之春齋、否則有火災、民訛言有緋衣三老人行火。希亮禁之、民不敢犯、火亦不作、毀淫祠數百區、勒巫爲農者七十餘家。及罷去、父老送之出境、泣曰、公去我、緋衣老人復出矣. *Op. cit.*, chapter 298, l. 19.

"there could, by means of their inspiration by s h e n, render people "happy or unhappy, and they thus acquired much wealth for "themselves. But Kiün burned the images of their gods, punished "the w u with rods, and banished them beyond his frontiers." [1]

Also under the Ming dynasty, which excelled in the purity of Confucianism, rigorous measures against Wu-ism certainly were more frequent than authors relate. "In the Ting department (in Fuhkien "pr.), where it is in the customs of the people to revere spectres, "the w u and h i h in the city of Shang-hang masked like spectres, "and celebrated sacrificial masses on an altar set up in the suburbs, "beating their gongs and drums till daybreak. This had lasted for "three days and nights, during which crowds of people of both "sexes were hurrying to the altar in disorderly fashion, and non-"pregnant wives were induced by their talk to put off and give "to them their clothes, for thus, they said, they would cut away "the s h a h or murderous influences from their bodies, and those "influences gone, obtain pregnancy. But Tsiang T'ing-ts'üen, the "prefect of the district, repaired to the altar ground, arrested several "of the leaders, and castigated them painfully; and from that "moment the said custom had finished." [2]

Chang Ping, the same excellent mandarin of the later part of the fifteenth century of whom we have read something on page 654, once performed a feat of like value. "A w u who could render "himself invisible, committed sexual irregularities with other people's "wives and daughters. Ping arrested him, and had him rigorously "chastised with rods, but he felt no pain. He then disappeared "with the other w u; but Ping had him quickly fettered and "brought back. An impression of his seal, which he then made on

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[1] 上官均知光澤縣、有巫託神、能禍福人、致貲甚富。均焚像、杖巫、出諸境. *Op. cit.* chapter 355, l. 6.

[2] 汀俗風稱尚鬼、而杭邑巫覡裝魔設醮建壇郊外、金鼓達旦。如是者三日夜、男女喧闐羣趨壇所、婦之不孕者惑其說解衵服付巫者、名爲斬煞、以煞去而身可孕也。知縣蔣廷銓就壇所、擒其爲首者數人、痛懲之、其風始息. *Shang-hang hien chi* 上杭縣志, Memoirs concerning the Shang-hang District; T S, section 藝術, chapter 810.

"his back, caused him to die immediately under the whip[1]; and "he demolished the heterodox sacrificial places altogether." [2]

From this series of textual evidences we learn many things which we must not allow to escape our attention. The wu had their temples containing images of gods, to whom they paid worship and offered sacrifices, and whom they employed for magical purposes. These temples no doubt were no other than those which nowadays everywhere stud the soil of China by thousands, erected, owned and maintained by villages, wards or parishes for the promotion of the common weal by celebration of what we may call rites and ceremonies of popular religion. Many, if not most of them, are, from the Confucian point of view, "heterodox sacrificial places" [3], the gods to whom they are devoted being not mentioned in any of the Classics, and therefore not enthroned on the Parnassus of the State Religion; mandarins are therefore entitled, even morally obliged, to destroy them at any time. Yet the rule is, that in order to spare popular sensitiveness and provoke no wrath, such gods and their temples are tolerated. Their worship is winked at also because they may be deified historical or mythical men, and anthropolatry is an essential element of Confucianism.

No doubt it was in the main the gods of such temples by whom, in the past as at present, the wu were animated, and thus endowed with magical power and the faculty of giving oracles and performing exorcisms. Under the sacerdotal guidance of these magicians, the people, according to our quotations, used to celebrate in those temples religious feasts, sacrificial masses or so-called tsiao[4], contributing money for the purpose, a good portion of which disappeared no doubt into the purses of those priests. Occasionally, temporary altars were put up in the open air with the same purpose. All such things, as we shall see in the next Chapter, occur on the most extensive scale to this day and hour.

Possessors of power conferred by spirits, which enables them to employ these beings in promoting the welfare of man, the wu have

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1 Thus a mandarin's seal, apart from spectres (cf. p. 1160), conquers spirits by which magicians are animated.

2 有巫能隱形淫人婦女。昺執巫、痛杖之、無所苦。已竝巫失去、昺馳縛以歸。印巫背、鞭之立死、乃盡毀諸淫祠. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 161, l. 18.

3 淫祠. 4 醮.

always been invested by the people with authority and influence. But, just on account of the same quality, they have been objects of suspicion, since that same power might occasionally be abused by them to induce spirits to inflict injury. We have shown on pp. 828 *sqq.* by means of historical texts, that as early as the Han dynasty the wu were decried and persecuted as sorcerers whose operations extended even as far as the private apartments of the Imperial court. They no doubt carried out there this abominable part of their practice in conspiracy with inmates of the harem. An accomplice to Wu-ist sorcery was, for instance, the Imperial consort Chang[1] of Heu Chu[2], the last sovereign of the Ch'en dynasty who was dethroned in A. D. 589. A peerless beauty, "she performed "black art by means of spectres in subjection (yen-mei, p. 889) "and by making a wrong use of spectres (page 815), in order to "confound Heu Chu; she instituted heterodox sacrifices within the "Palace, assembling there female wu, by whom she had dances "performed to the sound of drums".[3] Literature of all ages represents the wu as binding themselves regularly for money to harm people by spells and imprecations[4], or by invocation[5] of spirits, or by burying or hiding all sorts of "objects of sorcery" generally called ku; or by using evil-producing charms, or by committing such terrible crimes as "life-plucking" (pp. 870 *sqq.*). The life-plucker Wang Wan-li of the fourteenth century was, as we have seen on page 874, explicitly stated to be a wu. A sorcerous wu was described by a Chinese author of that same century in the passage which we have quoted on page 908, and yet another has been mentioned by such an author on page 926. We see then that the Government and the mandarinate in China, apart from the other reasons which we have mentioned, are justified by literature for persecuting the Wu-ist priesthood also on account of criminal black art.

In spite of the oppression and persecution to which it has subjected for ages, Wu-ism has not perished, for undoubtedly Confucianism has showed itself in the main tolerant, owing to the fact that even its most bigoted votaries found themselves occasionally in need of its spiritualistic soothsaying and exorcism, dictated by

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1 張. 2 後主.

3 工厭魅之術、假鬼道以惑後主、置淫祀於宮中、聚諸女巫、使之鼓舞. History of the South, chapter 12, l 11.

4 呪詛, see p. 905. 5 祈禱.

ancient custom and endemic superstition. Nevertheless, Confucian Government has for many centuries severely forbidden Wu-ist work by a written law, thus supplying its mandarinate with a sword ready at hand to unsheathe and use under any impulse of orthodox zeal. Dynasties may have done the same thing in all times and ages, but their codes are lost. That of the Ming dynasty we have complete. It contains a special law against religious heterodoxy, the first clause of which deals with Wu-ism in the following terms: "If any shi wu or 'Wu-ist master' pretends to call down here-"tical gods or spirits, writes charms, or pronounces spells on water, "or bears a phœnix [1], or invokes saints, calling himself twan kung "or 'orthodox lord', t'ai pao or 'chief patron or protector', or "shi p'o, 'female master', he or she, being the principal offender, "shall be strangled, or, being an accessary, shall receive a hundred "blows with the long stick followed by banishment for life to a "distance of three thousand miles." [2] This law is in force to this day, all the luh [3] or fundamental articles of the Code of the Ming dynasty having been transcribed to the letter into that of the present House. [4]

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1 A branch or rod, called ki 乩, into which a spirit is summoned, so that it moves in the hand of a medium and scratches oracles in sand, flour, or ashes. See Chapter V.

2 凡師巫假降邪神書符咒水扶鸞禱聖、自號端公太保師婆名色、爲首者絞、爲從者各杖一百、流三千里. Chapter 16, title 禁止師巫邪術.

3 律.

4 For further particulars about this legislation on heresy we refer to our work on Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China, chapter 4.

CHAPTER III.

THE SACRIFICING AND EXORCISING WU OF THE PRESENT TIME.

The two preceding chapters, composed from original historical documents, may be received in the main as a representation of Wu-ism as it exists at the present day. Indeed, among the Chinese people, which is more profoundly influenced by the spirit of conservatism than any other nation in the world, religious institutions above all are bound to be stationary. The functions of its animistic priesthood to-day, as in the past, therefore may be divided into three categories, embracing in fact the constituents of heathen sacerdotal work in general, viz. clairvoyance and soothsaying, exorcism, sacrificial work, with invocation and conjuration.

No doubt those various functions were by no means always exercised conjointly by every priest or priestess. Division of labour, or specialism, must have prevailed; and in fact there are, to this day, soothsaying wu, exorcising wu, and sacrificing wu, as also wu who both foretell and sacrifice, or sacrifice and exorcise, or foretell and exorcise. The chuh, the "Invokers" or "Conjurers" of the classical age, whom we know especially by the *Cheu li*, evidently were such specialists of the animistic priesthood, and the fact, noted by us on page 1192, that the wu for many ages have been generally called wu-chuh, points to the intimate connexion of the two functions, and their regular combination in the same person. This specialism may also be inferred from certain denominations which occur in books, such as "masters of divination who walk in the night (of the nether world)"[1], "masters who see spectres"[2], etc.

This division of labour actually prevails nowadays in the south-eastern region of the province of Fuhkien, including Amoy island, where, as we may state at once, we have made those researches into modern Wu-ism the results of which we are now going to

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[1] 夜行卜師. [2] 見鬼師 or 視鬼師.

lay before our readers. We find there, indeed, everywhere a class of so-called *sai kong*, who almost exclusively occupy themselves with sacrificial work and exorcising magic; and moreover, there are there numerous men and women who act as devil-expellers, seers, soothsayers or diviners with the help of spirits, which possess them, or are subject to their will and influence. We will try to treat these classes as far as possible separately, and first of all give our attention to the *sai kong*, who in the eyes of the people themselves are the most important representatives of the Wu-ist priesthood.

The word *sai kong* represents the local pronunciation of the characters 師公, shi kung, of which the first means "master", while the second is a common title of notable or honorable male persons, comparable with "lord" or "sir"; but the significance of the term lies in the fact that *sai* or shi is an abbreviation of wu shi 巫師 or shi wu 師巫, "Wu-ist master" or "master wu", frequently occurring in literature even in early ages to denote the wu, and used also (see p. 1242) in the law which forbids Wu-ist practices. The custom of denoting the wu as shi or "masters" is evidently very old, for, as we have seen on page 1189, there is a statement in the *Cheu li* to the effect that the principal wu in official employ were thus called. The corresponding denomination of the female wu, likewise used in the said law, is shi pʿo 師婆, pʿo being a title for women of distinction, correlative with kung; as we may see on page 1236, this term occurs in a book as early as the eighth century. No doubt our *sai kong* are priests of the same class as those who, according to this law against Wu-ism, call themselves twan kung and tʿai pao; but concerning the use of these names we are unable to give any information; they probably are in the main merely of local use. In other works we have found 跳神師公, "shi kung of dancing spirits", 法師 fah shi or "magic masters", etc.; the last named is to this day generally used in Amoy in the local form *hoat su*.

The *sai kong* do not borrow their dignity or function from any ecclesiastical authority or hierarchy. Undoubtedly it has always been the rule in China that all men and women were wu who had the will and the capacities, and moreover a circle of customers sufficiently large and confiding to supply them with a livelihood by paying for their services. The *sai kong* are married men and fathers. They wear no distinctive dress or badges, except when they officiate. To their houses, which are in no way distinguished from those of

other people, clients are directed by a sign-board, displaying the characters 道壇在此, "there is a Taoist altar here", that is to say, boards and trestles, decorations, painted portraits of gods, and other requirements for the erection of an altar in any place which may be desired. To us this sign-board is significant because we see from it that the *sai kong* openly take position as priests of Taoism, a point on which we shall hear somewhat more. Many a *sai kong* transforms his dwelling into a workshop, where his wife and children, and he himself in his spare hours, occupy themselves with the fabrication and sale of sacrificial articles of paper, etc.; and if his charms, spells, and sacrificial work enjoy a high reputation for efficiency, his shop may have a large and lucrative custom, even though he values his wares above the market-price.

As is customary in China among fathers who are blessed with male offspring, every *sai kong* as a rule designs at least one of his sons for his own profession, so that wu-ship practically is hereditary. There are very good reasons for this. In the first place, no father who possesses that precious treasure of mystic knowledge of ceremonies, formulæ, charms and spells by which magical power may be efficiently exerted over gods and spectres, will deliver it to strangers if he can possibly avoid it; and in the second place, that same magical power, but for the possession of which ceremonies, formulæ, charms and spells are, if not totally useless, at least of little effect, is positively hereditary by birth, since it is homogeneous with the ling or power of the shen or yang soul which a child receives from his father. No wonder then that every *sai kong* is anxious to make out that he himself is a descendant from a long stock of priestly ancestors, many of whom, according to his pretensions, stood in high repute among people of their time for magical attainments and sacerdotal perfection.

The great talisman then wherewith a *sai kong* commands spirits and gods in prayer and sacrifice for the weal of men, and dominates the world of spirits, is the power of his shen, which supplies high "mental intelligence" or shen ming[1], and ling[2] or "spirituality", in fact divine wisdom and power. It also bestows clear-sightedness, and consequently knowledge of the future. He is, indeed, a magician, obeyed by gods, believed in by men, feared by spectres. But his endowments are of small material advantage if they are

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[1] 神明. [2] 靈.

not known and acknowledged by gods, men and spectres. It is therefore necessary that every priest should, at the beginning of his career, display them before the whole visible and invisible world. He does so on one of the days which are indicated in the almanac by the characters 宜傳徒, "fit for transmission of the calling to a disciple"; that day is a great moment in his life, actually his initiation, his entry into the priesthood.

Paternal instruction has for years sufficiently acquainted him with the details and secrets of the profession. Subsequently, the author of his being entrusted him to a colleague of advanced age, honoured by the profession as a *kào tsú*[1] or "Chief of the Religion", who gave his education the finishing touch, and adopted him as his successor. Finally, immediately preparatory to the great day, the pupil "entered upon a taboo"[2], that is to say, isolated himself in a clean cell or closet, to pass seven or ten days in abstinence from meat, fish, onions, leek, garlic and spirituous liquor. During this purifying vigil he washed his body frequently, and from time to time put on new clothes, thus thoroughly cleansing himself outwardly also, the process being furthered all that time by invocations, spells and conjurations, learned from his father and the Chief of the Religion.

This vigil tends to corroborate his shen or tsing shen, and thus increases its ming or intelligence. It is based on a classical rescript, laid down in one of the books of the *Li ki*, which explains most lucidly the whole rite. "The superior man, when he desires "to sacrifice at the seasons of the year, observes a vigil. Vigil "means collection or concentration (of the qualities or faculties of "his vital spirit and intelligence); it is a concentration of what is "not yet concentrated, so that concentration is really effected. The "superior man does not perform a vigil unless he has to perform "some important act, or to worship. Unless the vigil has to be "observed, no precautions need to be taken against material things, "nor desires or lusts to be restrained; but he who is going to "observe the vigil must protect himself from things that are sié, "and put a check on his desires and lusts. His ears may not "listen to music; the saying of the Record that man while observ-"ing a vigil has no music, means that he does not venture to "divert his attention in more than one direction. He has no vain

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[1] 教主. [2] 入禁.

"thoughts in his mind, but strictly adheres to the Tao; his hands "and feet make no disorderly movements, but move exclusively in "accordance with the ritual rescripts. Such is the vigil of the superior "man, solely purporting the highest development of the qualities "or faculties of his vital spirit (tsing) and his intellect (ming); "to this end he observes a less rigorous vigil for seven days, in "order to fix or adjust the same, and a rigorous vigil till the third "day, in order to concentrate them. Their fixation signifies their "concentration, and their concentration means the perfection of the "vital spirit and the intellect, after which he can enter into com- "munication with the gods." [1]

On the last day of this vigil of the candidate, the temple of the parish, where the Chief of the Religion is wont to officiate, presents a lively scene. For three days at least a sacrificial mass [2] is celebrated in that building at the cost of the candidate's family, in honour of the idols which permanently reside there, and, besides, in honour of a considerable number of divinities, called down by the priests into their portraits which, painted on paper scrolls, are hanging above the altar. Many more gods, however, are expected to be present, in fact the whole Taoist Pantheon, even though not called down.

The Chief of the Religion acts as celebrant at the mass. At a fixed hour, the candidate, full of mental intelligence and power in consequence of his vigil, in clean underwear beneath a sacrifical vestment, with bare feet and a sacerdotal head-cover, is carried on some one's back out of his retreat to the temple; indeed, he may not touch the earth, since any contact with this great repository

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[1] 及時將祭、君子乃齊。齊之爲言齊也、齊不齊以致齊者也。是故君子非有大事也、非有恭敬也、則不齊。不齊則於物無防也、耆欲無止也、及其將齊也防其邪物、訖其耆欲。耳不聽樂、故記曰、齊者不樂、言不敢散其志也。心不苟慮、必依於道、手足不苟動、必依於禮。是故君子之齊也專致其精明之德也、故散齊七日以定之、致齊三日以齊之。定之之謂齊、齊者精明之至也、然後可以交於神明也. Section 祭統, l. 10.

2 Tsiao or *tsiò* 醮; see page 1240.

of the Yin might neutralize the yang substance or shen which is in him. In the temple, the Chief awaits him and formally interrogates him concerning his vigil, whether it has been performed in the proper way, with total abstraction of his thoughts from this material world, especially from his nearest relations, and whether, as a consequence, he now feels strong and energetic enough to risk his safety at all times and in all places on behalf of mankind in the war against spectres, even to the extent of catching these beings, or snatching stolen human souls out of their power. All answers are, of course, in the affirmative. Finally he is asked whether he can give proof of all this by climbing yonder *to t'ui* [1] or "sword-ladder", which has for rungs swords with the edges upward; and on replying that he can, he is borne towards it on a man's back. A bundle of baby-clothes, taken for the purpose to the temple by parishioners, is fastened on his back, as also one or two bundles of paper charms; and while he climbs with cautious steps, the musicians, employed for the mass, play their shrill clarinets, but especially their horrid gongs and cymbals.

Meanwhile the Chief incessantly rings his hand-bell (see Fig. 21), utters loud spells, spurts charm-water (pp. 1052 and 1144) about, and strews rice and salt (page 1118), but for which precautions the host of spectres, which crowd around to witness the scene and are already beginning to feel uneasy, would certainly approach closely and frustrate the climbing ceremony. He also blows from time to time long melancholy strains on a buffalo's horn, especially when the candidate from the top of the ladder is letting his charms fly downward among the crowd, who vie with each other in picking them up as powerful preservatives against spectral work. After his descent, the candidate kneels before the Chief, to receive from his lips the happy news that this ladder-trial has qualified him for the priestly dignity. The baby-clothes are given back to their owners, and the new priest is carried home in a sedan-chair, escorted by the musicians. And a message that the initiation has been successfully

Fig. 21.

Hand-bell of a *sai kong*.

[1] 刀梯.

accomplished is thereupon politely sent, or personally brought, by the Chief to the family of the neophyte.

And the spectral world, having thus seen a barefooted man on so dangerous a ladder without incurring even the slightest wound, now tacitly confesses itself beaten, and, thoroughly convinced of his enormous magical competency, will henceforth flee before him with the utmost terror wherever he shows himself. His exorcising labours for the benefit of the lay world will therefore under all circumstances be a perfect success. But those spectres, however shrewd and numerous they were, did not perceive that they were duped: as a matter of fact the swords were blunt, and their harmlessness was concealed from view by means of paper charms pasted over the edges, while, moreover, these charms scared the spectres to a distance whence they could not discern the truth. And besides, the bellowing through a buffalo horn by the Chief, himself so terrible and powerful an exorcist, as also the presence of so many gods on and about the altar, forbade the spectres to approach.

The sacerdotal power of a w u, and the respect and awe which he commands in the world of gods, men, and spectres, is proportionate to the number of the rungs he has climbed on that memorable day. Many *sai kong* proudly vaunt that number till the end of their days, even though, either on account of the surrounding spectres, or because of the edges, they may have taken fright on the fourth or even the third rung, and come down in a hurry, being nevertheless considered as fully initiated. The baby-clothes, which were attached to the neophyte, as well as the charms which he carried, have, of course, become as efficacious as the man himself in dispelling spectres, and are therefore carefully worn by the children of the owners as precious preservatives from evil and sickness.

As a rule there are twelve rungs in the ladder, but there may be in it a multiple of this number. As it is not always easy to procure so many swords, because the mandarins do not permit the people to possess any arms, they are, if necessary, borrowed from some government arsenal. The ladder, while being climbed, is leaned against a wall or the eaves, but sometimes two ladders are used, one for the ascent, and the other for the descent, either leaning against one another, or connected at the top by a board or a bridge-work of bamboo, over which the candidate has to pass into the bargain. If he is heroic, he will perform the ascent and the descent several times, trying, if possible, to reach the maximum number of 108 rungs, for this will assuredly secure for him supremacy over the

whole world of evil, since, according to Wu-ist and Taoist calculation in Amoy, that world consists of 36 *t'ien kong* [1] or "celestial evil influences", and 72 *tē soah* [2] or "murderous influences of the earth". [3]

The remainder of this the grandest day in his life is spent by the neophyte in making calls on the notables of the parish which has been the sphere of the sacerdotal activity of the Chief who adopted him as his successor. He makes this round in a sedan-chair, clad in the sacerdotal vestment which we shall describe on pp. 1264 *sqq.* (Pl. XVIII), for he has at the same time to introduce himself to their household gods. To this end, at every call, he approaches the domestic altar, and while ringing his hand-bell, invokes the images there and informs them of his initiation, finally purifying the altar, and therewith the whole house, by means of a few spells and formulæ. For the performance of this purification some will give him a fee, which serves at the same time as a congratulatory present,

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1 天罡. 2 地煞.

3 It is worth notice that this curious initiation ceremony is mentioned as occurring also across the southern borders of China, in Burma. "According to Major "Sladen (Official Narrative of Expedition to Western China", p. 49), one who aspires "to the dignity of medium or necromancer among the Kakhyens, who are said "to bear close affinity to the Karens, must climb a ladder made of sharp swords "with their edges upwards, and sit on a platform thick set with spikes, without "personal inconvenience, before he is believed in".

The work from which we borrow these lines, viz. The Karens, by McMahon (page 158), informs us also of the existence among the Karens of a class of priests, called Wee, which word may be another form of the Chinese word wu. "They are "supposed, and suppose themselves, to be capable of working themselves into a "'superior state', in which they are enabled to see what is invisible to other men. "They can see the departed life or spirit of the dead, and even have the power of "recalling this spirit, and bringing it back to its body, and thus restoring the dead "to life. When a prophet is approached by an inquirer after future events, or any-"thing which is hidden from other men, the prophet's first object is to throw him-"self into a state of clairvoyance. He writhes his body and limbs, rolls himself on "the ground, and often foams at the mouth in the violence of his paroxysms. When "he is satisfied with his condition, he becomes calm and makes his prophetic an-"nouncement.

"There is another class of prophets of a different character, rarely making pre-"tensions to the prediction of future events, who are called Bookhahs, or masters "of feasts, and might be called the priests of religion. They have methods of deter-"mining the future in cases of sickness, take the direction of the general religious "ceremonies of the people, and teach the doctrines of the system they adopt in "worship, the charms, etc. They are not so much dreaded by the people as the "Wees." (Journal of the American Oriental Society, IV, 305—308).

The reader may now form his own ideas on the remarkable resemblance which this Burmese priesthood bears to Chinese Wu-ism. Is the term wu-hih (see page 1192) hidden in that word Bookhah?

A *sai kong* in full sacerdotal vestments.

so that the excursion is not unprofitable to his purse. Somewhat later on, he and his family will reciprocate these attentions by means of a festive meal, to which they invite in the first place the Chief of the Religion, as also the chief administrator of the parish-temple with which the neophyte will henceforth be intimately connected; and the rest of the guests will consist as a rule of notable laymen who are wont to distinguish themselves by liberal gifts for the support of that building.

The celebration of the sacrificial mass, requisite at an initiation, is no cheap matter, as it demands musical and theatrical performances for the entertainment of the gods and the people, and in many cases should last as long as three days. Therefore, if possible, two or more candidates are initiated at the same time, and the expenses thus divided between them.

In China, where Imperial absolutism reigns supreme, government is thoroughly autocratic even in matters of religion, and the priesthood of every cult is under strict tyrannical law. Legislation considers the *sai kong* to belong to the wide class of secular Taoist priests who are styled h w o k ü [1], "dwellers by the fire", that is to say, who live at a domestic hearth of their own; or that term may mean "dwellers in the fire", the flaming whirlpool of worldly dangers and cares. Impelled by Confucian intolerance, the laws prescribe an exact registration of these priests and a strict control; and to prevent their numbers from increasing, it strictly forbids that any of them shall adopt more than one pupil to succeed him in his profession. Then, when he is too old to do his work any longer, or has departed this life, his state-diploma which authorizes him to exercise his profession, may be transferred to his pupil; but beforehand it must be registered by the prefect, for which registration a fee is to be paid, apart from additional presents exacted by the Yamen officials.

The written law enforcing restriction of the adoption of pupils for the clerical vocation is severe. "The Buddhist clergy living in "the world, as also the h w o k ü and other sorts of Buddhist and "Taoist priests, are not allowed to adopt pupils at their own discre- "tion. He who has passed the age of forty may take one; he may "afterwards adopt another if the first, without having committed "any offence, falls ill and dies. He, who takes a pupil before he "is forty, or adopts more than one, shall for transgression of the

[1] 火居.

"law receive fifty blows with the short bamboo lath. If the adopted "pupil is guilty of sedition or robbery, or any serious crime, his "master shall not adopt another, on penalty of (the same) chastise- "ment for transgression of the law." [1]

Although, accordingly, from the point of view of the Government, every *sai kong* remains a pupil until his master's death, the priesthood itself considers him to "receive his investiture" [2], or full investment with the power and capacity to perform religious work, by the *tsiūⁿᵍ to-tᶜui* [3] or "knife-ladder climbing" ceremony. After that, he may at sacrificial masses act as head celebrant or so-called *tiong tsun* [4], "reverend in the middle", or *ko kong* [5], "high performer", in distinction to the two who, on his left and right, take the part of acolytes or assistant priests, respectively with the titles *to̲ káng* [6], "general speaker", and *hù káng* [7], "auxiliary speaker", to whom the functions of saying prayers and pronouncing spells principally are assigned.

We have stated, that Wu-ist capacity of a high order can hardly be obtained except by inheritance from a stock of able priestly ancestors (p. 1245). Therefore a *sai kong* will seldom adopt a pupil who is not the son of a colleague; and the existence of a professional bond of fraternity is the almost natural consequence of this fact. In Amoy we find the *sai kong* united into a *Ló-kun hōe* [8] or "Lao-kiün association", so called because it worships Lao-kiün or Lao-tszĕ, the Patriarch of Taoism, as its patron divinity. It possesses a fund, to which every member is bound to contribute, in exchange for the privilege of drawing upon it in times of need or illness. Each of the members diplomated by Government is treasurer in his annual turn, with the title of *lô̲ tsú* [9], "keeper of

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[1] 現在應付火居等項僧道不准濫受生徒。其年逾四十者方准招徒一人、若所招之人無罪犯而病故者准其另招一人爲徒。如有年未四十卽行招受、及招受不止一人者、照違令律笞五十。若招受之人身犯姦盜重罪、伊師亦不准再行續招、其有復行續招者亦照違令律治罪. Ch. 8, 戶役, the third title, fourth bye-law.

[2] 受封. [3] 上刀梯. [4] 中尊.

[5] 高功. [6] 都講. [7] 副講.

[8] 老君會. [9] 爐主.

the censer". Indeed, the association possesses a precious jewel in the shape of an open pot of metal or porcelain, containing the ashes of the incense-sticks which every day, from year to year, have been stuck therein as a sacrifice to Lao-tszĕ, slowly but continuously increasing the quantity of ashes in which, according to pious belief, the spirituality or ling of that saintly prophet lodges, and thence imparts itself to all the members, especially if they wear portions of it in little satchels on their breasts. Committed to the custody of the *lô tsú*, this repository of sanctity stands on the domestic altar of this man the whole year round, he and his family in particular thus enjoying the fulness of its blessings. On that altar we also see Lao-tszĕ's image or painted portrait. Every year, on the 15th day of the second month, which is the chief festival of this prophet, professedly his birthday, a sacrificial mass with theatrical performances is celebrated in his honour at the altar of the *lô tsú* at the expense of the fraternity; and the ceremony finished, this dignitary, in full sacerdotal costume, either alone, or accompanied by one or more colleagues, transports the holy censer to the domestic altar of his successor, under escort of a playing band.

As a rule, the domestic altar of a *sai kong*, like that of the people generally, is furnished with the images or portraits of the usual popular household gods, even including the Buddhistic Kwan-yin. But, in addition, it bears an image of Lao-tszĕ, and not seldom one of Chang Ling, whose position in the Taoist Church we have sketched on pp. 1182 *sqq*. Many also worship there, as patron divinity of their profession, the mystic Wu-hien, of whom we have spoken on page 1204. The supreme God of Heaven has in his service quite a staff of so-called *iú sín* [1] or "itinerant gods", constantly travelling to this earth to report thence the good and evil done by men and spectres, and to receive the complaints which gods and men may wish them to lodge before that highest throne. These divine inspectors or spies cannot, of course, travel uninterruptedly, and therefore do so by daily turns as so-called *tík jít kong-tsó*, [2] "judges of merit for a stated day". Now as a *sai kong* has every day to send, on behalf of his clients, petitions and prayers on high to Heaven by burning them, he sagely keeps the messenger always ready at hand on or by his altar, either in the shape of a sheet of paper, inscribed with those five characters and thereby

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[1] 遊神. [2] 値日功曹.

containing the messenger's spirit, or in that of a small image in which the spirit may likewise be settled.

The sacerdotal work of the *sai kong* moves within the sphere of the ritual of Taoism, which in the long course of ages has been drawn up in a great variety of forms, and compiled in the great Canon of that religion. They accordingly call themselves preferably, and even exclusively, *tō sū*, which is the local pronunciation of tao shi[1] or "Taoist doctor". This term has been used since the age of Han to denote the votaries of the discipline by which, preferably in seclusion from the busy world, assimilation with the Tao or Order of the Universe was sought; but these votaries became at an early date a class who devoted themselves to the sacerdotal work of propitiation, on behalf of human felicity, of the gods who animate the Universe, composing the yang part of its Order, as also to the frustration of spectres which in that same Order compose the yin part, and exercise a baneful influence. Actually then, the tao shi became a priesthood working for the same great object for which Wu-ism had existed since the night of time; moreover, properly considered, Wu-ism was Tao-ism, because the spirits, which it exploited or exorcised for the promotion of human happiness, were Taoist gods and spectres, that is to say, the same parts of the dual Universal Soul, Yang and Yin, which compose the Tao. It is accordingly quite natural, that as soon as the tao shi made themselves priests of Universal Animism, their actual assimilation with the wu was imminent. It was from the wu alone that the tao shi could learn and borrow the venerable and ancient exorcising practice; they wove it inseparably into the ritualism of their sacrificial worship of the gods. The difference between the tao shi and the wu class was finally effaced entirely when the older part of the function of the tao shi, viz. assimilation with the Tao by mental and bodily discipline in seclusion, was discarded, being incapable of being maintained by them against the competition of Buddhist monasticism, and against the oppression of ascetic and conventual life by the Confucian State.

It thus seems incorrect to pretend, that the tao shi has supplanted the wu or hih in Chinese religious life. Even with regard to such parts of the empire where, as in Amoy, the words wu and hih seem to have disappeared from the vernacular language, such supposition may be preposterous. Certainly it is much more

[1] 道士.

rational to believe here in a process of commixture. This process may still be unfinished in various parts of China, but this matter is to us as yet a closed book. It is, however, pretty certain that there exist everywhere men and women who represent ancient Wu-ism in its ruder original state of animistic simplicity by lending their bodies to spirits for possession or obsession, with a view to the performance of exorcising work and discernment of hidden matters. No doubt they are denominated by a variety of terms, and but seldom by the word t a o s h i, since sacrificial work in a grade of ritualistic development is no part of their competency. The result of our studies concerning those persons will be given in Chapters IV, V and VI.

Sacrificial work being the most important part of the function of the *sai kong*, it seems our duty to enlarge on it here. But because, as we have stated, that work is almost in every respect ritualism of Taoist make, systematic treatment compels us to defer its description to our Book on Taoism. It may merely be stated here that it consists in the main in the celebration, both in temples and in houses, of t s i a o or masses, by means of which sacrifices are offered to gods, their blessings are invoked, and thus catastrophes and misfortunes averted. Various magical performances are grouped around those masses or woven into them, and much of that magic bears most distinctly the character of exorcism.

The exorcising magic, to which the *sai kong* devote themselves most busily, represents the older Wu-ist side of their function, and is therefore exactly the subject which demands in particular treatment in these pages. We have already seen them set it in working order in exorcising processions during times of epidemic, moving therein in full sacerdotal dress with jingling hand-bells, while giving vent to long intimidating spells, and blowing long strains on buffalo horns (pp. 984 *seq.*). We have depicted them behaving in a similar manner at initations by means of the knife-ladder (page 1248). It is especially they who make and sell exorcising charms, and pronounce powerful spells over the sick and against all sorts of demoniacal evil. Some possess Taoist books which give models of charms and spells for various circumstances; or they have extracts of such books in manuscript or print; but most of them help themselves with a small stock which they obtained from their priestly fathers, or from the masters whom they succeeded. They have, of course, also specimens of their own invention, the power of which is larger or smaller according to their own spiritual power

or intelligence (cf. page 1048). Very often their charms contain diagrams or characters referring to Lao-tszĕ or to Chang Ling; and they have seals, by means of which they impress thereon the names of these saints, and therewith their divine power (cf. pp. 1182 *seq.*).

As we have pointed out on pp. 1226 *sqq.*, exorcism was at all times one of the chief parts of the Wu-ist function. Chinese literature shows, that it was in no less degree a part also of the magic of the tao shi, and the texts which we have translated on several pages of this work [1] bear evidence to this fact. No wonder then that the *sai kong* of to-day, who unite in themselves the two dignities, brandish their exorcising swords over the sick with the greatest zeal, sometimes having at the same time their hair hanging dishevelled down their naked backs, and a dagger clasped between their jaws. Thus do they drive the sié of insanity, delirium, fever, etc. out of patients, and the sié which cause sterility out of women. They also treat patients with caustics and needles (pp. 946 *sqq*), and blow on buffalo-horns over and around their beds. The use of this primitive noise-making instrument in the war against spectres may be old, for we read that there was in the time of the Tsin dynasty a tradition current, to the effect that "Ch'i-yiu (Book I, "page 1403), at the head of ch'i and mei spectres, had warred "against Hwang-ti (27th cent. B. C.) at Choh-luh, and this emperor "had given orders to blow on horns beforehand, in order to imitate "the bellowing of dragons and thereby subdue him". [2] They may have been used for the purpose at all times, for we read *e. g.* with respect to the official exorcising processions of the T'ang dynasty which we have mentioned on page 980, "that the Director of the drums and wind instruments", that is to say, the Chief of the office for the imperial profane music, "at the no ceremonies was "the leader of the drums and the horns by which the lads were "to be helped while singing their exorcising songs." [3]

And certainly with no less frequency the *sai kong* cast out devils by wielding the spectre-whip, called *hoat soh* [4] or "magic rope",

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1 As 472, 584, 606, 640.

2 蚩尤氏帥魑魅與黃帝戰於涿鹿、帝乃命始吹角爲龍鳴以禦之. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, chapter 23, l. 23.

3 鼓吹令大儺則帥鼓角、以助侲子唱之. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, chapter 44, l. 15.

4 法索.

which we have seen before (p. 985) in the hands of boys in exorcising processions. This practice, too, is old, as whip-bearers are explicitly stated in Standard History to have appeared in official exorcising processions of the Sui and the T'ang dynasties (cf. pp. 979 *seq.*). The magical rope (Pl. X, opp. page 985), also called *lîng pi*[n] [1] or "whip with spiritual power", is a braided cord, about eight feet in length, tapering towards the end like a snake, and fastened to a handle of spectre-frightening peach or willow wood, a span in length, which is carved in the shape of a snake's head and scaled neck. May we conjecture that it represents the blue and red snakes which, according to very old tradition preserved in the *Shan-hai king* (see p. 1204), Hien, the patriarch of Wu-ism, was used to carry in his clenched hands?

Theoretically, the exorcising medical work of the *sai kòng* is fruitless unless, with amiable unselfishness, they perform it gratuitously. Indeed, the gods of the universal Yang, whose mediums they are, themselves most unselfishly fill the world every year anew with blessings, at the same time frustrating, with like spontaneous benevolence, the evil work of spectres; — is it then to be expected, or even imaginable, that any fruits of such natural unselfishness could reach mankind through selfish mediums? Hence it is that no *sai kong* of respectable standing demands pay, but each one decently accepts what his employers deem to be the market price of his services, and voluntarily offer him in the shape of money, kind, or any other things.

Of all spectres which molest mankind with illness, none fill so large a space in the popular mind in Amoy as the *t'o͘ sîn* or *t'ai sîn*, "spectres of the ground or the womb", which, nestling in furniture or utensils, corners and recesses, if they are disturbed there or annoyed, assail babies and pregnant women. This fact, brought out on pp. 536 *sqq.* and 1111 *seq.*, naturally involves the consequence that the frustration of their work is one of the main functions of the *sai kong*. But the pay, prescribed by custom, is rather high, so that no family has recourse to their intervention until it has tried in vain the plain domestic expedients.

Should, for example, a young baby be supposed by its mother to be unable to pass urine, or be smitten with illness of any description; or should a woman be troubled by pangs of pregnancy, the first thing necessary is to remove nails, which have inadvertently

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[1] 靈鞭.

been driven into a wall, door, etc., or heavy things which have been placed upon or against others, as they may be harassing, squeezing or crushing some earth-spirit. If no relief is thus afforded to the patient, boxes, cupboards, doors and windows are thrown open, to release the imprisoned spirit. Small handbooks for daily use, such as we have mentioned on page 1108, facilitate the discovery of the place where the cause of the evil is situated. Starting from the undisputed truth that the earth-spirits, like all that exists in the World, spontaneously move therein with absolute passivity, submissive to its Order or Course, that is to say, with regularity of Time, the compilers of these handbooks, on the authority of authors yet wiser than themselves, mention with complete assurance the objects or the parts of the dwelling in which the earth-spirits abide during every subdivision of Time. Moving with observance of the twenty-four seasons (see Book I, p. 968), they lodge during the first season, called "the beginning of spring", in the beds of the human race, staying therein also till the third season, styled "revival of hibernating insects", when they remove into the doors. The fifth season and the sixth find them settled in the front doors, the seventh and the eighth in the furnaces of the kitchens, the ninth and the tenth in pregnant women, the eleventh and the twelfth in the fire-places again. Subsequently, in the thirteenth season, they settle in mallets, used for pounding rice, in the fifteenth in cupboards, in the seventeenth in gates or doors, in the nineteenth in doors and cupboards, to pass into jars and furnaces in the twenty-first season, and again into pregnant women for the rest of the year. This same round they make every year, for indeed, the Course itself of the Universe consists in annual revolutions of Time. But some handbooks teach, that these spirits remove at the beginning of every month, thus passing through a series of twelve similar abodes annually; while others promulgate the theory that they change their places every day, moving constantly in the same order through ten or twelve abodes in accordance with the ten kan or the twelve Branches (Bk. I, page 103). With this broad knowledge of the ambulatory nature of those spectres, domestic self-help may, of course, do much for the relief of patients by releasing the squeezed or crushed spectres from their disagreeable situation.

But should these efforts be of no avail, a messenger is sent to the shop of a *sai kong*, to buy for a few coins two *tsīng hú* [1]

[1] 淨符.

or "purifying charms", also called *t'ó hû*[1] or "earth charms". One is placed on the patient, or if this be a pregnant woman, on the seat of her pains, and the other is burned to ashes, which, mixed with water, the patient swallows; and finally, if this outward and inward medication shows no good result, the priest himself is fetched.

Tolling his hand-bell before the altar, he bids his gods descend, and with water, salt, and rice, to which he has imparted magical virtue by means of charm-ashes and spells, exorcises the apartment in the way which we have described in Bk. I, pp. 107 *sqq*. The curtains of the bed are meanwhile kept closed with wise precaution, lest in their straits the spectres should take refuge inside it, upon or in the patient. Now being compelled to seek safety in their own element, the earth, they tumble headlong into a pit which the priest has carefully made in the floor in front of the bed by scratching there, by means of his sword, two parallel strokes, crossed by two others, indeed giving the character 井, a well. This done, the priest brandishes his sword with terrifying gestures, striking it also against the four corners of the bed, to scare away any earth-spectres which may still be lurking in it; and all the while he utters powerful spells. Thus the poor things, having again to run for their lives, hurry over a bridge, formed by the priest before his breast by joining his hands in a mystic manner; but this outlet leads them headlong into the well. At once a mighty spell closes the latter and seals it, the main passage of the exorcising formula pronounced by the priest before, *tē-ièm kui tē*, "detested influences of the earth, go ye back into the earth" (Bk. I, page 108) thus reaching its full effect. And to crown all, the priest swings his magical rope over the well, blows his horn, and exclaims *hoat lah*, "magic!"

But the demonish evil, in order to be thoroughly removed from the patient, must pass into a *t'òe sin* or "substitute" (see p. 1103). Gently the priest passes this puppet three times over the patient's body, or if this be a woman's, over a garment of hers, since decency forbids him to approach her too closely; he may, however, in the latter case direct a female relation or slave to pass the puppet over her. This rubbing produces an excellent effect on account of some such spell as the following, which is to be simultaneously pronounced:

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[1] 土符.

t'òe sin t'òe tsîng, bó̲-bó̲ hè-siū khah kiāⁿ lîng.
t'òe sin t'òe āo, bó̲-bó̲ hok-siū tsiáh lāo lāo.
t'òe tsó, ní-ní hó; t'òe iū, t'iem hè-siū.
t'òe tsit kè, hè-siū tńg pah dzī-tsáp hè.
t'òe nīng kè, hiong ok soah bô āo-bīn t'è.
t'òe saᵐ kè, it liên sù kùi pó pîng-an. [1]

"Substitute, be thou in place of the fore part of the body, that he or she (here the name is mentioned) may live to a green old age, with greater strength than a dragon's.

"Substitute, be thou in place of the back parts, that he may live a long and happy life, and live to very old age.

"Substitute, be thou in place of the left side, that health may be ensured to him for year upon year; be thou in place of the right side, that his years may be multiplied to him.

"Once be thou in his stead, that his days may be prolonged even to one hundred and twenty years.

"Twice be thou in his stead, so that no evil-omened or murderous influences may dog his path.

"Thrice be thou in his place, so that the full cycle of fourfold seasons may ensure him peace."

A blast upon the horn, with a loud *ngó̲ hōng t'ài-siōng Ló-kun t'ik* [2], "I am invested with the authority of the Supreme Lao-kiün" or Lao-tszĕ, terminates this powerful spell. The substitute, which now harbours all the sié, is burned by the priest. He also puts an impression of the seal of Lao-tszĕ or Chang Ling on the garment of the patient, to prevent, as long as it exists, any spectres or sié from nestling in or on its wearer. A paper charm is also fastened in the hair of the patient; he is made to swallow charm-ashes in water; and *tìn hú* [3] or "subduing charms", each bearing a name or rude portrait of a commander of the Celestial Army, are put up round the walls of the room. Then also, unless

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1 替身替前、某某歲壽復健龍.
替身替後、某某福壽食老老.
替左、年年好、替石、添歲壽.
替一過、歲壽長百二十歲.
替二過、凶惡煞無後面退.
替三過、一連四季保平安.

2 吾奉太上老君勅.

3 鎮符.

such precaution is deemed superfluous or too expensive, the other apartments of the house are cleansed from evil; and finally the gods on the altar are politely thanked by the priest for their esteemed, devil-intimidating presence, and informed that they may go whithersoever they please.

This Wu-ist treatment of patients is called *an t'ó*[1], "pacification of the earth", or when performed for the sake of a pregnant woman, *an t'ai*[2], "appeasement of the fœtus or womb". It is sure also to prevent premature accouchment. Should it be suspected that the earth-spirits are discharging their sié into the patient from somewhere outside the house, where builders, diggers or stone-cutters are at work, or heavy objets are being moved, — to that spot the priest repairs to perform the ceremonies which drive the spectres into a magical well. He may be quite sure of a kind reception there, for exorcising work is always welcome in China; and, moreover, the service which he comes to perform will prevent miscarriage or monstrous births in the neighbourhood, which might form the ground of inconvenient claims for indemnification.

The reader will readily perceive for himself, that the exorcising ritual, which we have described, is suitable for performance against demonish work of any kind, including all cases of disease whatsoever. It will then, of course, be subject to slight modifications; but we cannot enter upon these.

A *sai kong* who has reached the proper standard of efficiency, not only exorcises men and women, but whole houses, streets, wards or parishes, and villages. In Amoy this part of his function is preferably called *tsīng iû*[3], "cleansing by means of oil".

Having carefully wound a strip of red cloth round his waist over his sacerdotal vestment, in order to keep the spectres, which he is going to drive mad with fear, off his person, he takes position before the domestic altar of the family which has engaged him. Tolling his handbell, he calls down the gods, in order that they may hover around him, and lend him a helping hand. Then he takes the magical whip, cleaving the air with it on all sides, and at the same time causes his terrifying horn to resound, while a small band of musicians make all the noise they can with their shrill clarinets, drums, gongs, and cymbals. The panic thus created

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[1] 安土. [2] 安胎. [3] 淨油.

among the spectres is then enhanced by draughts of water containing ashes of a mighty charm, which, mixed with his exorcising breath (cf. p. 1144), the priest spurts into the air on all sides of the altar. But at the same time he is merciful, and, turning to the altar, constructs with his hands the magic bridge, by which, owing to a magic spell which he pronounces, the terrified horde in desperation hurry into his magic well; this well is thereupon closed and sealed, exactly as we have described on page 1259.

The altar and its immediate vicinity being thus cleansed of the hideous brood, a man appears who carries an iron basin with a long handle, filled with glowing charcoal. At this sight, the priest blows his horn again; then he sips some oil or spirits out of a cup, and spurts it into the fire, which suddenly sends up a large bluish flame. The effect which this flaming fire exercises upon the spectres is enhanced by the no less alarming cry of *hoat lah*, "magic!", unanimously uttered by the priest and the lookers on. At this moment, a lad or urchin carrying on his left arm a round shield, made of cane, vertically cleaves the air quite close to the brazier with a sword, while the priest exclaims, *sat tiong hóng kúi* [1], "down with the yellow spectres of the centre". So many drastic measures all at once create, of course, a panic among the horde, and yet the priest further exclaims this mighty word, "I am invested with the authority of the Supreme Lao-kiün" (see p. 1260). Then with great velocity they repeat the fire-work, the spells, and the sword-blow successively towards each side of the apartment, the blue spectres of the east, the red of the south, the white of the west, and the black of the north being thus mercilessly destroyed.

The apartment with the altar being now thoroughly cleansed, the priest proceeds to purify in the same way the central part of the courtyard and its four sides. The water-well, which is there, has its turn as well, as also the side rooms or outhouses, the kitchen with its furnace, and finally the open ground surrounding the outer walls on all four sides, the music, gongs and drums closely escorting the priest and the fire-bearer. If it is deemed necessary, the cleansing is even extended to the streets. This excursion finished, the remains of the fire, purer than any fire whatever because the divine priestly breath was so repeatedly blown into it with the spirits or the oil, are carefully placed in the furnace of the kitchen, because thence this fire is bound to radiate happiness,

[1] 殺中黃鬼.

wealth, longevity, and other blessings of all kinds upon the family through the agency of the tutelary God of Fire, universally believed in China to inhabit furnaces.

The effect of this exorcising work may be enhanced by using oil and missiles impregnated with the virtue of fire. The priest, if he knows that the family will grant him an additional fee, places on the altar, over a charcoal fire, a small iron pot with a handle, until it is red-hot. Suddenly he pours a little oil into it, and forthwith raising the pot, pours the oil into his mouth, immediately spurting it into the charcoal, so that it sends up a smoky flame. Having repeated this action a few times, he, or a colleague who assists him, puts some sand or gravel into the glowing pot, and picking some bits out of it with his unprotected fingers, scatters them through the room. The two practices are mostly combined, and are called *bū iú tᶜsá soa* [1], "to spurt oil and fry gravel".

In the exercise of their functions, about which the next Chapter and other parts of this work will give more information, the *sai kong* are often seconded by colleagues, either bearers of the official diploma, or not. If undiplomated, these men are in the strict sense of the Law illegal priests, but their existence is openly connived at by the mandarins; they are created by the people's natural want for more priests than the Government allows them to have. People do not call them *sai kong*, but *hoat tiúⁿᵍ* or *hoat koaⁿ* [2], "chiefs or functionaries of magic"; which titles are considered to be lower than *hoat su* [3] or "masters of magic", borne, as we have seen on page 1244, by the *sai kong*.

Not being diplomated, nor initiated into the profession by means of a ladder of swords, they are not admitted as members into the Lao-kiün association. They do not act as celebrants in the tsiao or other sacrificial rites of importance, except in villages where no *sai kong* live, the diplomated dignitaries being, indeed, not very numerous, and preferably living in towns where custom is large and lucrative. As a rule, the *hoat tiúⁿᵍ* are traders, shopkeepers, farmers, indeed anything, even coolies, so that their Wu-ist business is merely accessory; and this may be the chief reason why the mandarins do not persecute them as clandestine priests.

The *hoat tiúⁿᵍ* too are wont to transfer their priestly business to one or more of their sons. Many are sons of *sai kong*, whom

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[1] ○油炒沙. [2] 法長 or 法官. [3] 法師.

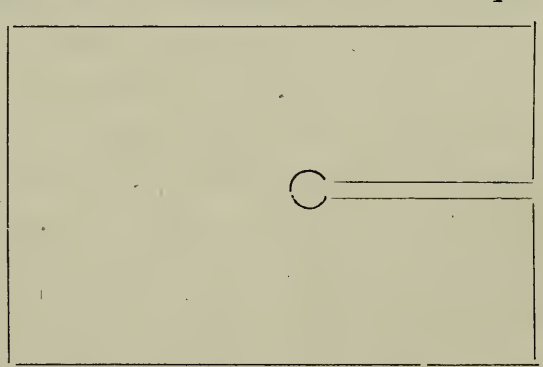
no colleagues could be found to adopt as successors; many are employed by their fathers as assistants, especially for exorcising work, for instance as leaders of the boys called *lŏ iên sê* in processions for the expulsion of devils (see page 985). Many are exorcists, seers and soothsayers by the help of spirits who descend into their bodies, so that they may be classed with the specialists of the Wu-ist priesthood whom we have mentioned on page 1244, and to whom we will devote the next Chapter.

We may further note here, that the seafaring exorcists of Amoy, called *bú tik khò*, of whom we have said a few words on page 533, are to be ranked in the *hoat tiúng* class.

The religious dress of the Wu-ist priests.

As is the rule with priesthood generally in all parts of the world, the *sai kong* are wont to don a special vestment while performing religious work. This ritual dress is highly significant, and is therefore worthy of attention and description.

The principal article of it, always worn at ceremonies of the highest order, is a so-called *kàng i*, which term, according to some, is written 絳衣, "red garment", or, according to others, represents the characters 降衣, "garment of descent", since it is worn at the presentation of offerings or during the celebration of sacrificial masses, the main object of which always is to call down the gods, that they may enjoy the offerings and requite the givers with blessings. This vestment is also called *hong i* 方衣, "square garment". Indeed it is a square sheet of silk, which has in the centre a round hole for the neck of the wearer; an opening runs from that point, down the breast, extending to the edge of the garment. Its form represents that of the Earth, for, according to ancient philosophy, expressed in the writings of Liu Ngan, "Heaven is round and Earth is square... the Tao of Heaven is roundness, and that of Earth squareness" [1].



[1] 天圓、地方...天道曰圓、地道曰方. *Hung lieh kiai* chapter 3.

Principal vestment of a *sai kong*.

Having no sleeves, this vestment may be called a chasuble. It is broad enough to cover even the hands. It is fastened at the opening by means of tapes. The silk of which it is made must be strong, because it is heavy with embroidery, especially in gold thread. The vestment is for this same reason solidly lined.

The embroidery especially covers the back. We notice on Plate XVIII, by using a magnifying glass, rolling waves, representing the oceans which encompass the continent of the world on all sides. Beaten by these waves, this continent rises as a pile of mountains, the summit in the centre of which is Mount T'ai or the Principal Mountain, in Shantung (p. 1105), nominally the highest peak in the world. On the left and right, a large dragon rises high above the billows, in an attitude denoting a soaring motion towards the continent; these animals symbolize the fertilizing rains, and are therefore surrounded by gold thread figures which represent clouds, and some which resemble spirals and denote rolling thunder. Above the dragons we see the sun and the moon, each as a gold disk showing respectively a crow, and a rabbit which is pounding medicines, those luminaries being, according to old philosophy, inhabited by these animals; around them, too, we see embroidered clouds, and stars. Exactly in the midst of the chasuble stands a lofty palace with a three-storied pagoda-like roof; it represents the residence of the God of Heaven. It is surrounded by a circle of flames. Around we see a circle of smaller palaces with two-storied roofs, each likewise in a halo of flames; they are the residences of divinities of lower order.

This picture of the Universe is stitched on a red ground, which represents the Yang, the universal Soul of Light, Fire, and Warmth. It stands in a very broad frame of blue silk, in which colour of the Empyrean we see, in various other colours, embroidered animals symbolizing felicity, such as elephants, a lion, an unicorn, a tiger, phœnixes, dragons, and peony flowers. There is also a broad border of blue silk around the neck, stitched with two ascending dragons which are belching out a ball, probably representing thunder.

The front of the chasuble bears no embroidery, except that on the neck-border, and some clouds on the shoulders. But on either side of the opening there is, fixed to the neck-border, a very broad pendent ribbon, which is embroidered with four of the k w a in gold thread; the ribbons thus complete the picture of the Universe, since, as we know (cf. Bk I, p. 960), the k w a represent the phenomena and chief constituent parts of the Universe. It is now abundantly

clear why the priests themselves are wont to call this vestment *tō pó*[1], "gown of the Tao" or of the Order of the Universe.

This name is, however, also given to a vestment of the same character, but with a somewhat different ornamentation, which is worn either by the principal officiant while celebrating services of secondary order or performed at a cheaper rate, or by the assistant priests at first class services. It is (see Plate XIX) a gown of red silk or even broadcloth, with very spacious sleeves, and with an opening in front with tapes to close it, along which two broad ribbons with the eight k w a are dangling; but in the middle of the front and the back it has the eight k w a, embroidered in a regular octagon round the T'ai Kih or the Yang and the Yin (see Book I, page 1042), thus representing the whole Tao. Under these figures we see ocean waves, and above and beside them stars and clouds, a sun or a moon, or both; or the octagon rests on the back of a tortoise; or there are other symbolical figures, because no hierarchical regulation prescribes uniformity of clerical dress. Below, there is stitched on the whole rim of this gown a broad ornamental border of another colour, and the sleeves are similarly bordered. An oblong piece of blue silk, embroidered with two dragons which belch out a ball, as also with a continent and waves over which they soar, is stitched in the middle of the gown, both on the back and in front. These two pieces seem to be a substitute for a belt, called *kak toà*[2] or "horn belt", which like a broad hoop suspended by loops, encircled the waist of grandees in former ages, and is nowadays often worn by actors on the stage.

It is then obvious, that the sacerdotal dress of the *sai kong* is a magical dress. The priest, who wears it, is invested by it with the power of the Order of the World itself, and thus enabled to restore that Order whenever, by means of sacrifices and magical ceremonies, he is averting unseasonable and calamitous events, such as drought, untimely and superabundant rainfall, or eclipses. Besides, since the Tao is the mightiest power against the demon world (page 1011), the vestment endows the wearer with irresistible exorcising power. Hence the *sai kong* almost always wear it while performing the evil-expelling ceremonies which we have described. It characterizes them emphatically as priests of the Tao, a dignity which, as we have stated (page 1254), they have assumed for many ages.

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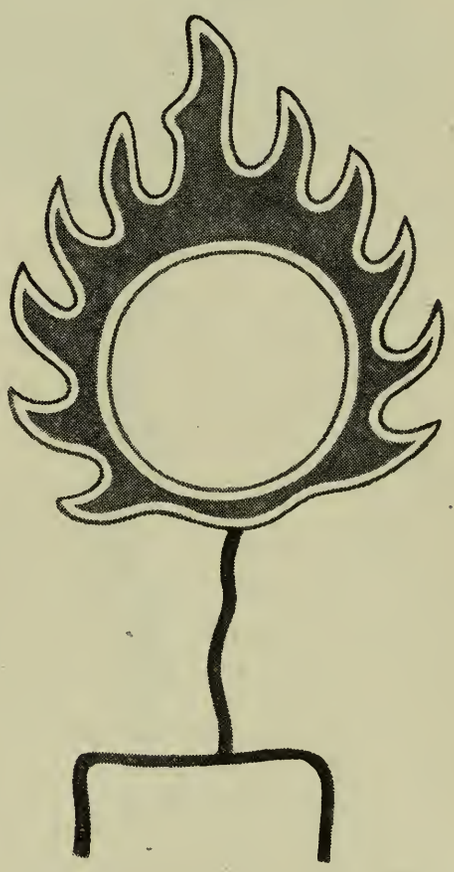
[1] 道袍. [2] 角帶.

Secondary vestment of a *sai kong*.

To that ritual dress belongs a curious head cover. Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show, that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The w u, professing to be Taoists, no doubt did so too, at least while officiating at their altars. But the Manchu Tartars conquered China, and compelled the people to adopt their own coiffure and shave their heads, except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and was braided as a pigtail. The *sai kong*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order; but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating, they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads, and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair (Pl. XVII, facing page 1250). Poorer priests have a wig of horse-hair, or even of black linen or cotton. The name of this religious head cover is *koan* [1], a term which has denoted official caps of the mandarinate since classical times, and for many ages also the caps worn by Taoist doctors.

Fig. 22.



Sun, worn by a *sai kong* upon his head.

Moreover, while clad in the garb of the Universe, the priests complete it by wearing upon the top of the hair-knot a so-called *kim koan gióng* [2], "gold apex of the cap", or *thâo gióng* [3], "apex of the head", which is a gilded, drum-shaped wooden block of about two inches high, one plane surface of which stands upward. The gilt represents the brilliant light of the Universe, and the rounded side, which is set with beads of glass, represents the starry sky; the plane surface is carved with the T'ai Kih and the eight k w a. And a metal wire projects from it, which bears (see Fig. 22) a round mirror of the size of a shilling, set in a gilded frame of metal which has a serrated edge like a halo of long flames. This

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1 冠. 2 金冠仰.
3 頭仰.

mirror represents the sun. In many cases it rests on a metal representation of a cloud (see Fig. 23).

Since nothing, except traditional custom, dominates the shape and decoration of the sacerdotal wear, it presents variations which may even be very considerable. I have seen chasubles embroidered with portraits of famous Taoist Immortals, or with generals of the Celestial Army; but priests themselves avow that these are arbitrary novelties, based on no legitimate authority. At the celebration of masses against conflagrations, vestments of black material ought to be worn, because black represents the North, which is associated with the element Water (cf. Bk I, p. 983); red chasubles must then not be worn, since red is the colour of Fire.

Fig. 23.

Sun, worn by a *sai kong* upon his head.

The chasuble is worn over a so-called *tō i*[1] or "dress of the Taoists", which is a plain black gown without any ornamentation at all. It has very spacious sleeves, and a broad lapel, fastened under the right arm with tapes. Probably it represents the common overwear of Taoist ascetics of earlier and later ages. At everyday ceremonies of no great significance it is worn without the chasuble.

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[1] 道衣.

CHAPTER IV.

POSSESSED MEDIUMS, EXORCISTS AND SEERS.

The specialists of Wu-ism, who act as seers, soothsayers and exorcists by the power of spirits which possess them, have been observed by us on pp. 983 *seq.*, engaged in processions which are organized in times of epidemic, stripped to the waist, dancing in a frantic or delirious state, covering themselves with blood by means of wounds inflicted by themselves with swords and prick-balls, or with thick needles thrust through their tongues, or being seated or stretched on nail-points and rows of sword-edges. On such occasions, they stick daggers into their arms and cheeks, and have been seen carrying heavy peuter lamps, fastened by hooks thrust through their arms.[1] By frightening and intimidating the spectres by so great a display of divine power, these men support and complete the work of the *sai kong*, who move in the same processions.

They are called *sîn tóng*[2], *i. e.* "godly youths", or "youths who have shen or divinity in themselves", or "youths who belong to a god". More popularly they are known as *ki tông*[3], "divining youths", or *tâng ki*[4], "youthful diviners", even simply *tâng tsí*[5] or youths. They are, in fact, in the main young persons, and I have never seen one of advanced age. My Chinese informants probably spoke the truth when they asserted, that the eight characters which constitute their horoscope or fate, are light (see page 1121), so that their constitution is so frail that they are bound to die young. We may then admit that they must be a nervous, impressionable, hysterical kind of people, physically and mentally weak, and therefore easily stirred to ecstasy by their self-conviction that gods descend into them; but such strain on their nerves cannot be borne for many years, the less so because such possession requires self-mutilation entailing considerable loss of blood.

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1 The Chinese Recorder, V, page 47.

2 神童. 3 乩童. 4 童乩. 5 童子.

Most of these dancing dervishes come from the lower class. People of good standing seldom debase themselves to things which, as we have seen on p. 1187, were spoken of in terms of contempt by the holy I-yin thirty-five centuries ago, however frequently they may have recourse to them for revelation of unknown things. It is generally asserted, that the capacity to be an animated medium for gods and spirits is no acquisition, but a gift which manifests itself spontaneously. It happens indeed, especially at religious festivals, celebrated in temples with great concourse of people, that a young man suddenly begins to hop, dance and waddle with wild or drowzy looks, and nervous gestures of arms and hands. Bystanders grasp his arms to sustain him, knowing that, while in this condition, his fall to the ground may cause sudden death. All onlookers at once realize the fact that one of the gods whose images stand in the temple, or some other spirit, has "seized the youth", *liáh táng* [1], and the parish thus will henceforth rejoice in the possession of one more medium for its intercourse with the divine world. Some make obeisance to him, or even prostrate themselves in worship, and in a few moments the officiating *sai kong* is at hand, to devote all his attention to the interesting case. Uttering efficacious spells, and blowing his buffalo-horn with energy, he dispels all spectres which thwart the divine spirit maliciously, and stiffen the tongue of the youth in ecstasy. The latter now begins to moan; some incoherent talk follows, mingled with cries; but all this is oracular language which reveals unknown things, for in the mean time one or two bystanders have in reality brought the spirit into him, and thus made a seer of him, by busily burning small paper sheets, denoted by the significant name of *khai gán tsoá* [2], "paper for unsealing the eyes" or "eye-opening papers". These sheets are a very inferior kind of paper, yellow coloured, and are not even so large as a hand. By means of a matrix of wood, some ten or twelve men are printed on each in very slovenly fashion; some of these men have memorial tablets in their hands, and are deemed to be messengers in official costume; and the others are servants attending on them with banners and canopies, and with horses and carriages which complete their equipment. The papers being burned, these men, horses and things are set free, and straightway depart to fetch the spirit, who but for such escort, suitable to its taste and dignity, would refuse to come. These useful instruments play a great part in

[1] 掠童. [2] 開眼紙.

religious magic, and are for sale in all paper money shops for a very low price. Some moments pass by, and the patient relapses into his normal condition because the spirit leaves his body.

An association of men, as a rule bearing his own tribe-name, is now quickly formed, anxious to attach themselves to the new found "godly youth", and attract to their pockets a part of the profits which his work as prophet, seer and exorcist will yield. Henceforth they are frequently seen in this temple to conjure the spirit into him and interpret the strange sounds he utters; and in the end it is they alone who, by dint of experience and exercise, can understand those inspired sounds and translate them into human language. First of all they try to discover in this way the name of the spirit; indeed, they want it for their spells whenever they have to call him down into the medium, and, moreover, they want to know before which image they have to do this. In this way it is almost always discovered that the spirit is that of an idol of inferior rank, seated or standing somewhere in a temple; for indeed, gods of a notable rank in the divine world, and therefore least of all those who occupy a place in the State Religion, will seldom deign to descend into a material, impure human body, save under exceptional circumstances, when, as in the striking case which we have set forth on pp. 883 *seq.*, there is a valid reason for it. Hence it is that *ki tông* gods mostly have their sees and their images in inconsiderable, little-frequented temples or chapels, where sacrificial food is offered so seldom that they are forced to try to increase their attractiveness, in order to improve their condition of life. Such buildings are the unauthorized, heterodox sacrificial places of the present day, of the kind which in former ages also, as we have seen on page 1240, were in particular the scenes of the labours of Wuism. It may further be noted, that a god who selects a human person as a medium, does so with the purpose of retaining him for his own exclusive use; hence no other divine spirit can be called into him.

Many *ki tông* gods reside in images which stand on altars in dwelling-houses, enjoying a good reputation among the people around for the many oracular hints which they give by the mouths of their mediums, hints whereby the sick are cured, and blessings of various kind obtained. Friends and acquaintances of the inmates of the house, the general public, and even the gentry and mandarins, repair thither for oracular advice, paying fees of gratitude, to be theoretically converted by the owner of the altar into sacrifices;

many even give money for the celebration of masses and for the support of the altar and the house; and while the god is thus a source of blessing to the family among which it finds itself so comfortably housed, the inhabitants of the ward may ultimately resolve to purchase the sanctuary, in order to convert it into a real temple. This is, indeed, the way in which many temples come into existence.

In several cases also, a *ki tông* god is the patron divinity of a small club or association of so-called *bîng hiaᵛᵍ-tī* [1] or "sworn brethren", such as is formed very often among the lower classes for mutual help and protection, especially in times of need. The brethren call him their *bîng pút* [2] or "oath Buddha", because they have sworn before his image their oath of mutual allegiance and faith. Each member in his annual turn keeps the image, together with its censer, on his own domestic altar. A main point in the programme of the club, from the very first moment it is formed, is in most cases to find out who of the members shall be its *ki tông*. To this end, after certain ceremonies have been properly celebrated, purporting to instil shen or divinity into the idol, the brethren subject themselves one by one to a kind of ritual, calculated to bring gods or spirits into mediums (see pp. 1273 *seq.*); and he who by his singular movements and ecstasy shows that this ritual produces the most profound effect upon him, is their man. The club-god then may, by means of its oracles given to consultants, become a source of income to the brethren; and its reputation may even raise it to the exalted rank of a parish-god, should the people resolve to buy its image and the house from which it radiates its blessings, and rebuild the place as a chapel or temple.

No *ki tông* exists but by the will of a shen. The theory is, that a *ki tông* is a man whom natural fate, dictated by the Tao, had designed for an early death because of the "lightness of his horoscope", but whose departure is delayed because one of the innumerable shen, who compose the yang part of the Tao, wants his living body for a time as a medium between itself and the human race. When then the man dies, it is taken for granted that this term has expired, and the divine spirit no longer wishes to employ him.

Oracles given by gods through their *ki tông* may be of all sorts and kinds. Yet the fact is, that these oracles principally concern themselves with medical questions, owing to the circumstance that the people are wont to consult the gods much more frequently on

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[1] 盟兄弟. [2] 盟佛.

behalf of the sick than for any other purpose. When a consultation about a patient is to take place, one or more of his relatives repair to the altar of the *ki tông* god, light candles on it, and place on it a few dishes of food; and one of them having taken burning incense-sticks in his clasped hands, whispers to the idol the motives of their visit. The medium does not show as yet the slightest symptoms of possession, but is sitting at the altar-table on a stool or form, quietly chatting with his club-brethren, while two of these on either side repeatedly utter an incantation in a chanting voice, in order to "invite or bid the spirit", *ch'iáng sîn* [1]; meanwhile they burn incense and "eye-opening papers", dropping the ashes of the latter into a pot of water. The invocation is a formula which professedly was uttered once upon a time by the god himself by the mouth of his *ki tông*, with an additional promise to come whenever he might hear it; it is then nothing short of a magical spell, suited for exercising influence upon the divine world. It is always to be recited in the literary or reading form, since otherwise the god, who belongs, of course, to the educated class, would not or could not understand it. The following specimen may enable the reader to form some idea about the tenor of these spells:

"Breaths of Rectitude [2], soar and fly aloft, filling heaven and "earth, that the pure incense, which we kindle and lift upward, "may penetrate unto the gate of heaven. — Golden Raven (sun), "flieth forth like lightning through the clouds; Rabbit of Jade "(moon), shineth brightly round as a wheel. — Southern Stars and "Northern Bushel (Great Bear), altogether come down; five-coloured "Tszĕ-wei (stars surrounding the Pole), showeth thy multifarious "magnificence. — Tszĕ-wei, openeth between thy lights a straight "road, and inviteth the divine Immortal in his grotto beside the "peach-lined brook. — His disciples before his incense-burner invite "him here with three prostrations; prostrated they bid thee A. B. "to descend hither. — Divine warriors, be quick as light in obeying "the law" (page 1051). [3]

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1 請神. 2 Yang and Yin; see page 1014.

3 正氣騰騰滿乾坤、點起清香透天門。金烏飛走如雲電、玉兎光輝似車輪。南星北斗皆下降、五色紫微鬧紛紛。紫微光中開正路、桃源洞裏請神仙。弟子爐前三拜請、拜請○○降下臨。神兵火急如律令.

This spell being recited over and over, the sound of it reaches the Celestial gods of light; the Tszĕ-wei constellation informs the divine Immortal that he is wanted, and the escort of many hundreds, sent up by the "eye-opening papers", simultaneously arrives to fetch him. His descent may be accelerated by the burning of papers on which the same incantation is printed or written, as also by a special kind of incense, the smoke of which is so exquisitely nice that no divine being can withstand the temptation to hurry to any spot where it is being burned. This wonderful stuff, highly estimated as an article for sale, therefore bears the appropriate name of *kàng tsin hiung* [1], "incense which brings down holy beings".

The symptoms of the descent of the spirit into the medium shortly appear, that is to say, it effects the *koan táng* [2] or "communication with the medium". Drowsily staring, he shivers and yawns, resting his arms on the table, and his head on his arms, as if falling asleep; but as the incantation proceeds with increasing velocity and loudness, with the accompaniment of one or more drums, and as the "eye-opening papers" are being burned in a quicker succession, he suddenly jumps up to frisk and skip about. Thus the spirit "sets the medium to hopping or dancing", *tió táng* [3] or *t'iáo táng* [4]. Two club-brethren grasp him, and force him back upon the form; which is not always easy, and may require the full exertion of their muscles. His limbs shake vehemently; his arms knock on the table; his head and shoulders jerk nervously from side to side, and his staring eyes, half closed, seem to gaze straight into a hidden world. This is the proper moment for the consultant or the interpreter to put his questions. Incoherent shrill sounds are the answer; but the interpreter translates this divine language with the greatest fluency into the intelligible human tongue, while another brother writes these revelations down on paper. But the moment comes for the spirit to announce in the same way its intention to depart. This is a sign for a brother to beat a drum loudly; and for another to spurt over the medium a draught of the water in which the ashes of the "eye-opening papers", were dropped; and for a third to burn some gold paper money for the spirit, in order to reward it for its revelations, and to buy its forgiveness, should it have been involuntarily displeased or impolitely treated. And the medium jumps up,

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1 降眞香. 2 關童.
3 投童. 4 跳童.

sinks into the arms of his brethren, or even to the ground, as if in a swoon; but he revives, rubs his eyes, gazes around, and behaves like a normal man. This moment marks the *t'è tâng*[1] of the spirit, its "retreat from the medium". It is asserted that the man thereupon has not the slightest notion or recollection of what has occurred to him.

The written oracle, thus obtained, is, of course, found to be a medical recipe. It is respectfully obeyed to the letter; indeed, as it is believed to come from a shen, it cannot fail to be highly effective against obstinate fever and demoniacal illness generally. The *ki tông* and his club, or whoever may be the owner of the idol, for the same reason deserve a handsome renumeration; which is duly paid out.

It stands to reason, that the descent of the shen into its *ki tông* is nowhere effected so well as in the close proximity of its image, and that the duration and intensity of his animation must be greatest in the presence of this object. Therefore, should the *ki tông* have to perform his ministry at a sick-bed, the shen having, through his mouth, expressed his desire to see the patient, it is the rule to convey the image thither in a small litter, which by means of shafts is shouldered by two or four of the brethren. It is then placed upon the domestic altar, with some sweetmeats, cakes, and cups of tea to refresh it, and with a few incense-sticks to please its olfactory nerves; the shen is then made to descend into the medium in the way described above, and the recipe written down from his lips.

But advantage may be taken of the presence of the possessed man on the spot for work of even greater efficacy, for he may himself expel the demon of illness directly. To this end, the brethren strip him of all his clothes, except his trousers, and tie a short petticoat of white linen round his loins. By means of a cord, passed behind his neck, they suspend on his stomach a *siù tó*[2] or "embroidered belly", which is a piece of red cloth or silk, on which two dragons are stitched with gold thread; for dragons are emblems of imperial dignity, and consequently also those of the Emperor of Heaven, in whose employ the indwelling spirit of the *ki tông* is, as well as all other shen. The brethren also unbraid the pigtail of their *ki tông*, so that his long hair flows is disorder down his

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[1] 退童. [2] 繡肚.

shoulders and back (cf. page 1151), and by a sword they complete his exorcising equipment. In this formidable get-up he hops and waddles through the bedroom (Fig. 24), howling and yelling from time to time like a madman; he brandishes his sword over the patient, and even beats him with the flat of the blade; he knocks the blade against the bed, the door and window posts, and the furniture; and certainly it is not his fault if the demon is not frightened out of its wits and refuses to decamp.

Fig. 24.

Medium in the state of possession.
(From a native image)

Should the patient meanwhile pant, groan, or wail, the family feel highly gratified in the conviction that the demon finds itself in great consternation and dismay. The *ki tông* also waves a magic whip, and strews a mixture of uncooked rice and salt about the room by bits (cf. page 1118); and as an ultimate measure, he inflicts wounds upon his own body with his sword, or with his *chʿi kiú* or "prick-ball". This instrument (Fig. 25) is known to the reader (p. 983). It is especially efficacious against the spectral world if it has 108 points, representing the sum of the murderous influences of heaven and earth (see p. 1250). In many cases, if the nails are long, chips of unsized paper are inserted between them to absorb the blood, and to be afterwards used for charms, or for stimulating and exorcising medicines. But not contended with thus scourging his naked back till the blood flows, he pierces his tongue with a thick needle, or makes an incision in it, spitting or smearing the blood upon sheets

of paper, which are to be placed upon the patient, or pasted on the walls, as powerful *huih hû*[1] or "blood-charms", in order to frighten away the disease-demons; indeed, the vital fluid of any

Fig. 25.

Prick-ball of a possessed medium.

man has exorcising power, but strongest that power must be in the vital fluid of a man in whom a shen resides. The medium even goes further, and thrusts through each cheek, upper arm or shoulder a dagger or so-called *koan-tsiòng t'âo*[2], "general's head", the hilt being a small wooden head of a commander of the Celestial Army. A set of five such daggers, implanted side by side in a

[1] 血符. [2] 軍將頭.

small rack of wood (Plate XX), is to be found on the altar of the god of the medium, ready for use; but the medium may have a special set of shorter specimens for actual use. The Commanders, whom they represent, are those of an eastern, western, southern, northern, and central devil-destroying army of the God of Heaven. For this reason, each dagger-head is decorated with a silk tassel of the blue, white, red, black, and yellow colour respectively, which represent the five cardinal points. The spectral world has no more powerful and dangerous enemies than these Celestial Generals. Therefore their heads, implanted in the body of a *ki tông*, endows this man with all the terrors which their armies themselves inspire; the more so, as their vital spirit, concentrated in their heads, is instilled by the blades into his body.

While the dancing man is thus frantically wounding himself, the consultants gently prevail upon him to temper his zeal and spare himself; indeed, the cost might run up too high for the purse of the family. Every wound inflicted is to be paid for; a dagger-stab may even cost five-hundred coins; and should the god himself have ordered the employ of his medium in this bloody way, the club may raise its prices almost at pleasure, since prudence obliges the family to obey the god's advice, and there is no other *ki tông* in the god's employ to compete on cheaper conditions.

But it is not always necessary for the *ki tông* to carry his ecstacy to this highest pitch. By the power of his spirit he may see and tell immediately which spectre is the author of the illness, having been thwarted, braved or offended by the patient unwittingly, or having been in collision with the latter; and interrogation by the interpreter may furthermore reveal the fact that a sacrifice will pacify that spectre. Idol, club-brethren and medium then go out into the street, where after much strange dancing, twirling and skipping, the possessed man discovers the spectre. Brandishing his sword, he pounces upon this being, furiously cleaving the air and pricking the ground in several places, until the interpreter understands from his yells that they must set to digging. A hoe is obtained; and no sooner has it touched the ground than the interpreter understands from the *ki tông*'s mouth that the hard pressed spectre, seeing the attack become a serious matter, resolves to capitulate. And a few shrieks more suffice to learn the conditions imposed by the spectre, to wit, such and such sacrificial articles, and so much of them, in exchange for its voluntary exit from the patient.

Daggers with which mediums wound themselves
when in an ecstatic state.

Now all return to the house with the happy news of the triumph. It does not take long to prepare the sacrificial ransom, and the whole company, now re-inforced with one or two members of the family who carry the offerings, go out again. Hopping, skipping and twirling as before, the medium perceives the spectre again somewhere in a street, alley, square or corner, and the family there politely presents the things with incense-sticks, bows, and even prostrations, burning also the paper money. Soon enough the spectre has swallowed the immaterial, etherial parts of the food, and the club-brethren may take the liberty of keeping the rest for themselves and their *ki tông*, by way of additional fee. Only in case the food is valuable will the family keep it for itself. Again all return to the house of the patient. There the spirit of the god leaves the medium and returns into the image, and the former goes home with his club, leaving the litter with the idol on the altar for one or two days more, in order that it may *tìn tᶜéh*[1] or "maintain authority in the house and its premises", that is to say, prevent other spectres, likewise greedy of conciliatory sacrifices, from taking to worrying the patient. It may then also from time to time be consulted by means of divining blocks (see p. 1285), to learn which medicines ought to be given him.

Should the patient recover or improve, some display of gratitude towards the god is necessary. To this end, the image is carried back to its own altar, under escort of a few musicians and a male member of the family, who wears ceremonial dress with the tasselled hat, and has burning incense-sticks in his hands. The family then appear before the idol with a sacrifice, which they devoutly present; and if they think it may suit their interests, they suspend by its altar a lacquered or painted board displaying a laudatory inscription; or they present the image with a new embroidered gown, a cap, or some new piece of furniture for its temple or altar. And the patient, if completely cured, becomes a *khòe kiáng* or "patronized child" (p. 1123) of the god, morally obliged to pay a gift to his temple every year about his principal annual feast-day, thus to help the administrators or owners of the building to reward him properly for his blessings by the celebration of a pompous *tsiò* or sacrificial mass with brilliant, noisy theatricals. As a consequence, a god with many such children may

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[1] 鎮宅.

be a source of considerable income to his owners. Should the *khòe kiáng* actually be a child, its parents give it a special coat to wear, on the breast and the back of which, in order to frighten away all spectres, the name of the god is embroidered.

But it may be the case that the patient neither recovers, nor improves. The *ki tông* then has to take measures of a cruel kind. Knowing that the God of the Moats and Walls of the city is charged by Heaven in that part of the country with the government of the spirits and the administration of justice among them, he repairs to the temple of that deity, escorted by the image of the god whose medium he is, a gong-man, and one or more members of the family with sacrifical articles. His possession is now peculiarly intense. His sword cleaves the air in every direction all the way, and now and then it passes across his shoulder, as if to split his naked back; but a club-member steadily parries these blows by means of a broad bamboo lath, upon which charms are pasted, or with the shaft of a square black flag, which displays in white paint the whole Universe, viz. the T'ai Kih, surrounded by the eight diagrams, which figure the reader knows as an exorcising charm of peculiar power (cf. page 1011), and even with the stars of the Great Bear. Such a flag therefore is an indispensable article in the equipment of every *ki tông*. At times he halts, hopping and jumping on the spot, or seems nailed to the ground almost without any gesticulation, while the gong resounds more loudly and quickly until he starts forward at a galop or trot, or moves with a quick lively step, forcing his attendants to give up their dignified slower pace. And if, in spite of all this queer motion and formidable and intimidating posturing, the guilty spectre is not discovered by the *ki tông* somewhere on the road, praying for mercy, or humbly offering its submission and conditions, the city-temple is reached.

While the family here arrange the offerings upon the altar-table, the *ki tông* grasps it with his trembling hands, and wagging his head, utters cries and shrieks to the shrine of the image of the City-god. It is the spirit, who is in him, that thus lodges complaints against the spectre which is tormenting the sufferer at home so cruelly and so long, and who conjures the god to punish it. Clearly and distinctly the interpreter now understands from his exclamations, that the medium sees the bad spectre arrested by the constables of the god, tortured and flogged before his tribunal, exposed in the cangue, or even put to death. As a consequence, the patient is released from its grip, and restored to health.

But the state of affairs may even be worse than that; that is to say, at the sickbed, seeing right into Hades, the *ki tông* may discover that the patient himself, on account of his sins, has been arraigned by the same City-god, or by the god of the Eastern Mountain, the great judge of souls in hell. No release of his soul from the hands of the invisible constables, jailors, tormentors and executioners is now possible but for a magical ceremony, which none but a *sai kong* is able to perform. With as little delay as possible such a priest is called. Immediately realizing the seriousness of the case, he puts on his sacerdotal vestment, and strides to the temple of the severe divinity, together with one or more members of the family who carry sacrificial articles, and with the possessed *ki tông*, the idol, and the club members. It may now come to pass that the *ki tông* suddenly halts somewhere, his eyes, as his interpreter is able to understand from his cries, having perceived the soul on that spot with the spectral police. Immediately the *sai kong* performs there his redeeming magic; but in ordinary cases the march to the temple is interrupted by no such incident. Forthwith the sacrifice is set out upon the principal altar-table; candles are lighted there, and scented incense-sticks are planted in the ashes of the censer; and candles and incense are likewise arranged before the images of the inferior gods, who have their seats in the building in their capacity of adjutants to the chief god. Also a garment of the patient is laid upon the altar-table, together with a paper "substitute", previously passed over him a certain number of times.

Meanwhile the priest or the relations fashion on the altar-table a human image out of a few handfuls of rice. Seven copper coins serve to form the eyes, nose, mouth, nipples, and navel on this image, and on its belly they place a small saucer with oil in which a wick is floating, the burning extremity of which just peeps over the rim. This wick must consist of twelve strands of pith if the current year has twelve months, or of thirteen if there be an intercalary month in it. The light represents the soul or vital spirit of the patient, which at the moment is in the power of the divine judge. To prevent a draught from blowing it out, a wooden rice-bushel is placed over it upside down; this precaution has, moreover, the advantage that thus the life-spirit is placed under the protection of the Northern Bushel, called by us the Great Bear, which, as we have stated on pp. 317 *seq.* of Book I, represents the annual rotation of the Universe, which is the yearly process of creation of *life*. All these preparations completed, the *sai kong* takes position

before the altar. Tolling his hand-bell, he calls the divine judge, or a part of his spirit, down into his shrine or image, while the relations make devout obeisance and prostrations. The god descends, and the priest reads a petition, printed after a fixed model. It states "that the family, named So-and-so, and living in Such-and-such "a department, district, town, ward, and street, have devoutly come "to this altar, and have directed him, priest A. B., initiated in the "Tao, to present this sacrifice for the improvement of the fate of "their patient, the promotion of his happiness, and the prolongation of "his life. This patient is named So-and-so; he is born in such-and-such "a year, month and day, and is indeed in a precarious condition, "medicines refusing to do their work. Hence this sacrificial meal. "It has been prepared by his family with care and devotion; it "consists of such-and-such meats, vegetables and pastry work, and "is arranged here before his holiness the god, not only as a mark "of thankfulness for the favours which he has bestowed on his "people for so long a series of years, but also to obtain his approval of "the recall of the soul by means of Taoist ritual and canonical formulæ, "properly performed and recited by sacerdotal hand and mouth. "Mayest Thou, o God, deign to give Thy attention to the matter "for which this prayer is sent up in such-and-such a year, month "and day." — The document bears the impression of the seal of the Supreme Lao Kiün (see p. 1182).

At the close of this prayer, the relations bump their foreheads on the ground, and the priest puts it into an envelope on which the address of the god is written; then he lights it at one of the candles, dropping the flaming paper into a vase of metal or stone, which stands on the altar for the cremation of such religious documents. The goodwill of the god being thus ensured, a series of spells, loudly uttered by the priest towards the four cardinal points, does the rest; that is to say, it delivers the vital spirit of the sufferer from the spiritual constables and lictors, and sends it into the rice figure and the lamplight. Now the priest asks the god whether that vital spirit has really arrived, and the answer is received by means of a pair of divining-blocks in the way we shall describe on page 1285. Should the blocks fall upon the ground in a position which indicates a negative, the priest repeats his spells and the same divination, even again if they reach the ground anew in a position indicating a negative, and so on, until their position indicates an affirmative. Now the priest prudently takes the bushel off the lamp, and makes it spin round on the ground upon its

rim. By this magic, the vital spirit, which, like all life in nature, has to follow the revolution of the sphere, which is that of the Northern Bushel, cannot help turning back into the rice and the lamp. At the same time, a series of spells compels the spectral horde to release their prey; to which end the *ki tông* simultaneously makes terrifying passes with his sword, and even wounds himself therewith, or with any of his sharp instruments.

But there is still another difficulty, which has to be overcome. At the fatal moment when the policemen of the divine judge pulled the soul out of the patient's body, sié naturally thronged into the latter, and occupy the vacant space, and they must now be drawn out, in order that that space may be re-occupied by the soul. To this end, the paper "substitute" is rubbed along the garment of the patient, and the practice performed which we have described on pp. 1259 *seq.* But it may be that the patient is declared by the *ki tông* to be tormented by more than one spectre. Then, by dint of horn-blowing and spells, the priest drives these sié into as many "substitutes" as correspond with their number, which are arranged for the purpose upon the altar-table, behind a few dainties calculated to attract sié. The "substitutes" are then burned on the pavement of the temple, or in the large receptacle which is used for cremating paper money, a considerable quantity of which the relations are just then busily throwing into it, to enrich the divine judge and his police.

At this juncture, the priest is interrogating that god. It is, indeed, of importance to know whether, for the re-animation of the patient, it is sufficient for his family to keep the lamp burning in his room until the oil is exhausted, without the addition of any further quantity. The divining-blocks give the answer. If they give a negative, a term for the duration of its burning is proposed by the priest, for instance a day and a night, and the blocks are thrown again; and thus the time may be gradually lengthened, until the blocks give an affirmative. This final answer is then duly communicated to the attendant relations.

These people, like Chinese in general, are no spendthrifts, and therefore carefully empty into their tankard the small tea-cups, which they filled with sacrificial spirits on the altar-table of the god, to take them back to their house, together with their other offerings. But it would be perilous and unwise to take home also the food which was placed in front of the "substitutes" for the use of the sié; indeed, the latter might adhere to these dainties, and, reaching the house with them, leap again upon the patient. The

priest, however, owing to his exorcising power, has immunity from such spectral infection, and appropriates them to himself without a qualm. Custom also entitles him to a share of the rice which formed the image of the patient; but the rest is for the family. The coins, having represented the organs of the senses of the patient, are imbued with his vital spirit and therefore taken home with respect and care, as well as the lamp of life, covered by the bushel, lest the wind should blow it out. Should it nevertheless be extinguished on the way home, a smouldering *fidibus* of paper, lighted at its flame beforehand in the temple, is ready at hand, to be blown, by the relation who carries it, into a flame by which the lamp may be relighted.

The interesting group having left the temple, one of the men who compose it shouts the personal name of the patient from time to time, lest the vital spirit go astray; and his cries are peculiarly loud and clear at street-corners, and on entering the premises of the house. And all the way, the possessed *ki tông* protects the soul from evil spirits by his awe-inspiring gestures and movements. On reaching the house, nothing is easier than to re-unite the life-spirit with the patient. The garment, from which all the sié were extracted in the temple by means of the paper substitutes, and which was thereupon sealed to prevent their returning into it (cf. p. 1260), is placed upon the patient; the rice and the coins are put into its sleeves; and as soon as his condition allows, the patient puts the garment on. And if, moreover, the rice is boiled and consumed by him, together with some food or dainties purchased with the coins, the lamp being kept burning close to the bed as long as the god has ordained, restoration to health cannot reasonably be delayed.

This rite, animistic, religious, magical and medical, is performed at Amoy with remarkable frequency among all classes. It is styled *chᶜiúⁿᵍ tsing-sîn* [1], "to take possession of the vital spirit". In the temple of the City-god, and in that of the God of the Eastern Mountain, priests may be found busy with it at all times and hours, and one at least, permanently stationed there by the care of the priestly guild, is ready to do the work at any time on demand for all who come to have it performed. Soothsayers also have pounced upon this profitable source of revenue. Indeed, their art too stands high enough to enable them to discover whether

[1] 搶精神.

and by whom theft of vital spirits has been perpetrated; and if clients employ them, the considerable outlay, which the ministry of a *ki tóng* entails, is duly saved. Such a soothsayer even may at all times be found ready to undertake the entire ceremony for a fixed sum, including the delivery of the ready-made sacrificial articles and the remuneration of the priest.

The divining-blocks which have been mentioned a few times in the preceding pages, are Wu-ist instruments, invented to obtain answers from gods and spirits. One pair at least belongs to every altar as an indispensable article of furniture, to be used by every male or female visitor who wants divine advice. As a rule they are made out of a kidney-shaped piece of bamboo root, between six and eight inches in length, by splitting this piece lengthwise into two halves, each with one flat and one convex side. No doubt, root of bamboo is preferred because, when the plant was living, that root was able to throw out several stems, thus showing intense vital and productive power, or, as the Chinese say, a strong animation by shen, which is equivalent to divinity. By constantly lying on the altar, these blocks are imbued with the spirit of the god who is worshipped there; moreover, their spirituality may be increased, whenever they are used, by passing them through the smoke of the incense-sticks which the questioner piously places in the censer in honour of the god, and in the delicious scent of which its spirit hovers with satisfaction and delight. The question should then be put in such a form that the god may confine himself to a simple "yes" or "no". The blocks, the two flat faces upward, are then piously lifted up a little towards the idol, and dropped to the ground. If they lie there with the two convex sides uppermost, the answer is called "double yin", or "full yin" [1]; if both flat faces are uppermost, it is "double yang" or "full yang" [2], and in both cases it is negative; but one flat and one convex side is an affirmative answer, and called "perfect". [3] Of course the terminology varies with local dialects; in Amoy, for instance, the two flat sides turned up are called *chʿiò poe* [4], "smiling or laughing blocks".

The literary name of the blocks is kiao 珓. This character does not occur in any of the Classics, nor are divining-blocks mentioned therein. The character is interesting, because, evidently, when it

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1 陰陰 or 太陰.
2 陽陽 or 太陽.
3 聖.
4 笑杯.

was made, the blocks were pieces of 玉 or jade, or some other stone, used in 交 kiao or "union"; the Khang-hi Dictionary states indeed, that "the pei kiao were anciently of jade" [1]. It also states, on the authority of the *Yen fan lu* [2], written in the second half of the twelfth century, "that for pei kiao two mussel-shells were used, and also bamboo roots" [3]; thus we learn, that there existed then another term for the blocks, *viz* pei 杯, which character has the radical 木 or wood, referring, of course, to the material they were made of. This word is generally used to this day; in Amoy the blocks are called *poe sìn* [4], and their use *kiú poe* [5], "to interrogate the blocks", or *poáh poe* [6], "to throw them". It may be asked whether this word pei or *poe*, which means a cup, has been applied to the blocks because these have somewhat the shape of a cup; but the question must remain unanswered.

The use of bamboo in place of the stony material, of which the blocks were originally made, explains why the character 珓 is often changed into 筊, by substitution of 竹, bamboo, for the radical jade. But this change is unauthorized and, besides, erroneous, since 筊 has the signification of a bamboo rope. The altered form existed as early as the eleventh century, being found in the *Shih-lin yen yü* [7] by the grandee Yeh Mung-teh [8]; indeed, according to the Khang-hi Dictionary, that work contains the following passage: "There are in the temple of Kao-sin (Yao's father, 25th cent. B. C.) "pei kiao of bamboo, which are considered to give a 'perfect' "kiao when the flat face of one lies downward, and the other up" [9].

This passage is also of interest because we learn from it, that divining-blocks were used as early as the eleventh century. But their use can be traced to a yet earlier date. I have before me a poem of Han Yü, the scholar and statesman of the eighth century whom we have mentioned already more than once, which commemorates

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1 杯珓古者以玉爲之.

2 演繁露 or Extension of the *Fan lu*, that is to say, of the *Ch'un-ts'iu fan lu*, mentioned by us on page 35. It has sixteen chapters with a supplement in six. The author is Ch'ing Ta-ch'ang 程大昌.

3 杯珓用兩蚌殼、或用竹根.

4 杯信. 5 求杯. 6 ○杯.

7 石林燕語. 8 葉夢得.

9 高辛廟有竹桮筊、以一俯一仰爲聖筊.

a visit to the temple of the God of Mount Heng in Hunan province, and in which the following lines occur: "The pei kiao "being in my hands, he directed me to throw them, and then "said, 'This is a most propitious throw; I hope they may fall for "you in the same wise whenever you consult them for other uncer- "tainties'"[1]. We seem entitled to ascribe a still higher age to the custom of thus consulting the gods. But I possess no reliable written evidence on this head.

It would hardly be possible to mention any thing which a *ki tông* by his second sight is unable to reveal. He may discover that the soul of a patient is crushed underneath some heavy object or large stone, pillar, or wall; which, I think, means that an earth-spirit has got into this disagreeable position, and makes that man smart for it, according to the law of sympathy (cf. p. 1257). A cure is then effected by subverting the object, or removing the pillar, or by demolishing the wall, or, more conveniently, by affixing charms thereto, bought from a *sai kong*. — Directed to see why in such and such a river, lake or pool people are drowned in a rather quick succession, a *ki tông* is just the man to ascertain that water-spectres, seeking substitutes, are the cause of it (see page 525), and he may indicate the spot where it is necessary to offer to those demons a bounteous sacrifice with so much paper money; or he may ascertain whether it is necessary to employ one or more Buddhist priests to deliver them from their pitiable condition by means of special rites, instituted to raise them to a higher stage of sanctity. — And should illness or adversity recur in a family with striking frequency, or spectres haunt its dwelling, so that it is evident that some evil-producing or sorcerous thing is hidden within or without (cf. p. 910), the *ki tông* again is the man to whom recourse should be had. Brandishing his sword, or inflicting wounds upon himself, he reels through every part of the house and the premises, finally pricking somewhere the wall or the ground with his sword, and triumphantly producing from that spot a chip of wood, or a lump of lime, or, better yet, a fragment of a bone. This odious thing is then simmered in a saucer or pan with oil, and the sié, which it harboured and emitted for so long a time, are thus annihilated for

[1] 手持盃珓、導我擲、云此最吉、餘難同. *Han Ch'ang-li sien-sheng ts'üen tsih*, chapter 3, l. 14.

ever. This is the practice which the people in Amoy call *liáh iao* [1], "catching things which bewitch". It is performed there with remarkable frequency.

And occasionally, when he is consulted about a patient, a possessed *ki tông* may, through his interpreter, open the eyes of the family to the important fact that the complaint is a consequence of the personal name which the patient bears. We know from pp. 1134 *sqq.* that a name has a great influence upon the fate of its bearer, and that this fate may be improved by changing it. But since they are able to know whether names are bad, an animated *ki tông* and his interpreter are also competent to mention others which are good and have health-restoring effect, as *e. g. Pó̤-hok* [2] or Restoration of felicity; *T'iem-siū* [3], Increase of longevity; *Tsài-sing* [4] or Re-birth, etc. In many cases, the god will, through his *ki tông*, advise that the sufferer be transferred to another room, or even that the whole family shall remove to another house. Or he may order that strangers shall be carefully excluded from the room for a few days, lest extraneous sié settle on the patient; this precaution is called *kìm pâng* or *kìm ts'ù* [5], "to lay the room or the house under an interdict". During this taboo, none but the inmates of the house may enter, and even the physician has to give his advices and prescriptions without seeing the patient.

And even if people are too poor to employ a *ki tông* in person, they may afford some income to him and his club by borrowing from time to time, for some coppers, his petticoat or his stitched stomacher, or his sword, prick-ball or dagger; for it goes without saying that each of these articles of equipment harbours in itself the same exorcising power which its owner possesses, and therefore can exercise a salutary influence in any house or bed which is visited by spectres of illness or other evil.

And if then, after all, the *ki tông* effects no cure, fault is not found with him, but with the fact that the spectre is a wronged soul which is avenging itself under the auspices of Heaven, and therefore is inexorcisable, unless the injury, done to it, be expiated by religious atonement. It will not, of course, appear strange or unnatural that the *ki tông* himself should in many cases be the first

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1 掠妖(夭).
2 補福 3 添壽. 4 再生.
5 禁房 or 禁處.

to make timely discovery of this fact, and inform his employers. The fact that there is an inexorcisable soul in the case is also ample excuse for any *sai kong* whose cure proves a failure. Such a priest will even in such cases discover sins committed by the patient or his parents in their former existence, which are now entailing such bitter punishment; and he will prescribe the performance of some act of merit, or an atonement by means of sacrifices. And to bring out the power of such intractable spirits, the priesthood will tell and re-tell of colleagues and *ki tông*, who, while on the way to a family which had required their ministrations, suddenly felt the sacrificial articles or exorcising implements become so heavy in their hands that they had to drop them; nay, some of them who, though warned in this way, did not immediately retrace their steps with all speed, have thereupon fallen dead on the pavement. Such cases perfectly illustrate at the same time how extremely efficient the work of the *sai kong* and *ki tông* is, as even spectres which are authorized and sustained by Heaven lack courage to brave it, deeming it safer to anticipate it by treachery.

Since, as the foregoing pages have sufficiently shown, the functions of the *sai kong* are so intimately connected with those of the *ki tông*, and both sorts of priests co-operate on so many occasions, it is somewhat natural that there exist *ki tông* clubs which have one member or interpreter who is a *sai kong*, or, much oftener, a *hoat tiúng*. It may even be more correct to say, that a *sai kong* or *hoat tiúng* actually is a member of the *ki tông* club with which he regularly works.

A study of the psychological and pathological side of Wu-ism, which the present writer does not feel competent to make, would no doubt reveal many points of interest in this branch of the religious system of China. An explanation might then be discovered of a phenomenon which is to this hour a puzzle, namely how it is that many a *ki tông* occasionally employs the god or spirit, who usually descends into him, as a guide into the unseen world for the purpose of discovering unknown things. It is, indeed, by no means rare, that while in the state of possession and extreme excitement, he sinks to the ground as though in a fit of epilepsy, resembling swoon or syncope, a condition ascribed by everybody to a departure of his soul. Forthwith his club-brethren cover him with paper charms, in order to keep off spectres and their sié, always ready, as we know, to invade bodies which, owing to the absence of the vital spirit, have lost power to offer resistance to their entrance.

They scatter paper money upon and around him, which is calculated to induce spectres, ever greedy as they are for ready cash, to hurry off with it, forgetting and forsaking their prey; moreover, parts of this money may serve the departing soul to defray its travelling-expenses, for payment of its guides, and gifts to the spectres and deities of lower order, who, but for liberal bribes, would harass it. As a rule, on his revival the *ki tông* gives useful revelations, such as those which we have mentioned on page 1287. But it may be that he does not awake, the term of postponement of his death, granted to the god or spirit in whose employ he is, being suddenly ended (cf. p. 1272). Hence the custom of propping up a *ki tông* while he is in a state of possession, in order to prevent him from falling (cf. p. 1270).

Whoever directs his attention to the *ki tông* and their work, is sure to be struck in the first place by their curious practice of inflicting wounds upon themselves. This practice is not inseparable from their function, for there are many who do not indulge in it. Professedly it is a means of accelerating the descent of the spirit into them, or to intensify their animation; and indeed we may suggest that anæmia is conducive to the hysterical ecstasies which mark possession. Their self-wounding is by no means a practice of modern times, for we have read on page 1212 of two female w u in the time of the Tsin dynasty, who, while performing their dances, made incisions in their tongues. I have never seen a *ki tông* bleeding copiously from his dagger-wounds; all whom I saw always implanted their daggers into the same old cicatrized spots. It is generally averred that their wounds are not very painful; which seems not inconsistent with the observation that over-hysterical persons not seldom have insensitive spots. Moreover it is pretended, that the wounds of the *ki tông* as a rule heal quickly, owing to certain charms of paper, carefully plastered thereon.

This curious auto-phlebotomy being conducive to, and tending to intensify divine animation, we fully understand why the *ki tông* subject themselves to it in particular when, in order to overawe and intimidate the world of spectres, they have to manifest the highest degree of the seeing and exorcising power which their divine possession confers, for instance in processions organized for the expulsion of plague or cholera (pp. 983 *seq.*). On some of these occasions, they intensify the awe, which they inspire, to the very utmost by climbing a ladder of swords in the square before the temple whence the procession starts. This ceremony, which, as

we have seen on page 1248, is performed also by the *sai kong* at initiation, is deemed of cardinal importance if the epidemic is violent and of long duration. The ladder appears then as one of the chief items in the programme of religious festivities which are celebrated on the spot under direction of the *sai kong*; and the rule then is, that the god himself, by mouth of his *ki tông* or in some other way, declares the climbing indispensable, and absolutely requisite at such and such an hour of such and such a day. When this moment has come, the *ki tông*, who has professedly observed the vigil of seven or ten days, prepares to climb the ladder with dishevelled hair, wearing his embroidered stomacher, his sword in hand. The chief among the officiating *sai kong* clears the rungs beforehand from spectres by spattering or spurting water which is mixed with ashes of exorcising charms, and by throwing up rice and salt, at the same time ringing his hand-bell, blowing his horn, and uttering spells. An ear-splitting noise of gongs and drums resounds, and the *lô iên sê*, shaking their rings, mutter spells which bring down the Celestial Army and its generals. As they call the northern army, a *hoat tiúng* takes position at the north side of the ladder, waving a black banner, and pacing out a magic figure on the ground; he, or another, then furiously cleaves the air with a sword, with perpendicular strokes. And in the same wise the four other cardinal points are operated on by four *hoat tiúng*, each with a banner of the colour which represents his cardinal point; thus, indeed, all demons are sabred away, and the five celestial army-divisions, assembled by those banners, bravely perform their salutary work of destruction of spectres.

The possessed *ki tông*, ascending the ladder barefooted, has his whole body covered with exorcising charms of paper. From the top he scatters like charms among the public, who eagerly snatch at them. No sooner does he descend by the other side than the five *hoat tiúng*, who have likewise observed the vigil, climb up successively, each with his banner, a strip of devil-expelling red cloth round his waist. They too scatter charms, and distribute the rest among the bystanders after their descent. And they all climb a second time, a third, as many times as the god has ordained, nay many times more if they have zeal; and all this time the heavenly regiments with their thirty-six Generals fill the air, fighting on all sides, and giving no quarter to the ugly spectral crew.

In many cases, equally in obedience to the god, there is no

ladder, but a *to kiô* [1] or "bridge of swords", that is to say, two parallel poles of bamboo or wood, which are placed horizontally a little above the ground, and connected by pairs of blunt swords with the edges up. They just allow the foot to rest at every step on two edges at a time, so that the danger of wounding the soles or causing them to ache is reduced to nothing. Paper charms cover the swords. Thus, besides the *hoat tiúⁿᵍ* and the *ki tông*, any parishioner who pleases may make the salutary passage, and thereby acquire resistance against the spectres, and immunity from the plague. After the performance of the rites described, barefooted workmen, coolies and farmers, especially young people, emulously trot along in the suite of the *ki tông* and the *hoat tiúⁿᵍ*; many fashionable shoe-wearing persons follow; nay, many gentlemen or even ladies make the passage so awkwardly that they have to be sustained by others who move on the ground alongside the bridge. Merry laughter and cheering mingle with the noise of gongs and fire-crackers. The same scene may be watched at other temple-festivities which we shall describe elsewhere in this work, including those which recur annually for the purification of the parish from spectral evil.

But, as we all may understand, for the acquisition of immunity from evil nothing on such occasions is so useful as passing through the element Fire, which is the very mightiest devil-destroying part of the Universe. Therefore a ceremony is performed which is denominated *táh hé* [2], "treading fire", or *kiâⁿᵍ hé-lō̤* [3], "walking on a path of fire". By the care of the committee of administration of the temple, a small layer of charcoal is laid out in the square in front. It is gradually enlarged in the course of the day by gifts of the devout laity, both men and women and children who are under the patronage of the temple-god (see p. 1279). The propitious hour, fixed by the god by mouth of his *ki tông*, or by the magic writing-instrument to which we shall pay attention in the next Chapter, is arriving, and the *sai kong* appears, to attach an exorcising charm of paper to each side of the layer. But he expels the sié yet more thoroughly from it by means of his bell and horn, and with spells, charm-water, rice and salt, while a few men are busily attending to the charcoal, igniting it and fanning the glow. The

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[1] 刀橋. [2] 踏火.
[3] 行火路.

lô iên sê stand arranged on both sides, calling down the Generals and their celestial hosts, while the five *hoat tiúng* with their banners incite them to the assault; and no sooner has the last of them finished sabring the air in the same way as beside the sword-ladder or the sword-bridge, than the *sai kong* advances with a rolled-up mat. Everybody gives room to him, as, even surpassing the *hoat tiúng* in display of energy and intrepidity, he vehemently flogs the soil with his mat on the four sides of the fire, while uttering imperative spells — an exorcising purification final and radical! Then, with agility and quickness, he pushes the roll right through the glowing mass, virtually splitting it up into two halves, in this way "opening a fire-path", *khui hé-lō* [1], which thus, while pushing, he is himself the first to trod. But the layer of fire is thin, so thin indeed that he might have opened the path with his shod feet; but his aim being to overawe the spectres, ostentation before these beings is necessary. *Sai-kong sak chʿióh* [2], "a *sai kong* pushing a mat", is a saying equivalent to our 'much ado about nothing'.

The fire-path laid open, the *sai kong* walks it a second time at a quick pace, now ringing his hand-bell and blowing his horn. He is followed by the younger colleagues who are officiating with him, after whom come the several *hoat tiúng*, brandishing their swords, the *lô iên sê* with their rings, the children under patronage, and the general public, many of whom wear paper charms on their dresses, cheering tumultuously, to the rousing noise of gongs, cymbals, and drums. Many pass through the fire two, three and many more times; and the palankeens containing the images of the temple-gods are fetched, and carried through it. And it is not until the glowing fire is dying out that the noisy crowd disperses from the spot, to seek diversion elsewhere in the square or in the temple, especially at the theatricals, which on great festivals are always performed almost uninterruptedly for the amusement of the gods and their beloved parishioners.

It is the theory that every one who passes through the fire or over the bridge of knives ought to observe the vigil beforehand, lest he might burn himself or incur wounds; but probably nobody attends to this precaution, because it is so troublesome. But there are some the cyclical characters of whose birthdays are in collision with those of the days or hours when these rites are celebrated.

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[1] 開火路. [2] 師公○席.

These persons should be careful to content themselves with attending at a distance, lest their fate be injured or greatly endangered; lest also the useful effect of the rites be frustrated by their presence. It may therefore be called a wise measure that the colliding characters are all published, for general information and warning, on a piece of paper which is posted up in the temple or its premises. People in mourning must likewise, by keeping their distance, abstain from disturbing the propitious effect of the rites.

CHAPTER V.

SPIRIT-WRITING, AND OTHER ORACULAR WORK.

It is not only by gibberish, uttered by the mouths of their possessed mediums, that spirits or gods in China dispel human doubts and reveal unknown things. They may do so also by means of writing, scribbled down by the hand of those persons, and likewise interpreted by the associates of the latter.

For writing-instrument they use a so-called k i 乩. This character does not occur in the Classics, but must be, at least, as old as the first century of our era, because it is mentioned in the *Shwoh wen* as meaning "divination, serving to ask for a solution of doubt" [1]. It contains the element 占, which is very old, and frequently occurs in the Classics in the sense of interpretation of oracles, being indeed composed of 卜 or "divination", especially by means of tortoise-shells, and 口, mouth; the element 乚 may have been added to represent a twig or some lengthy object with which to write the oracles. But this is a mere suggestion of our own. We do not venture to assert that spirit-writing is as old as the *Shwoh wen*, seeing that this book does not state that a k i was an instrument for the production of such writing. Moreover, we have not found any reliable reference to spirit-writing in books anterior to the T'ang dynasty.

In Amoy, such an instrument is, besides *ki*, called *ki pit* [2], "divining-pencils"; the pencils used by the whole nation to write with are there called *pit*. Spectres must be kept away from it, lest they disturb its movements or cause it to give wrong oracles; therefore it is made of peachwood, which spectres fear (see p. 960), or occasionally, for the same reason (cf. p. 999), of willow. To obtain an excellent k i, a natural fork ought to be cut from the south-eastern side of the tree, where this has always been exposed

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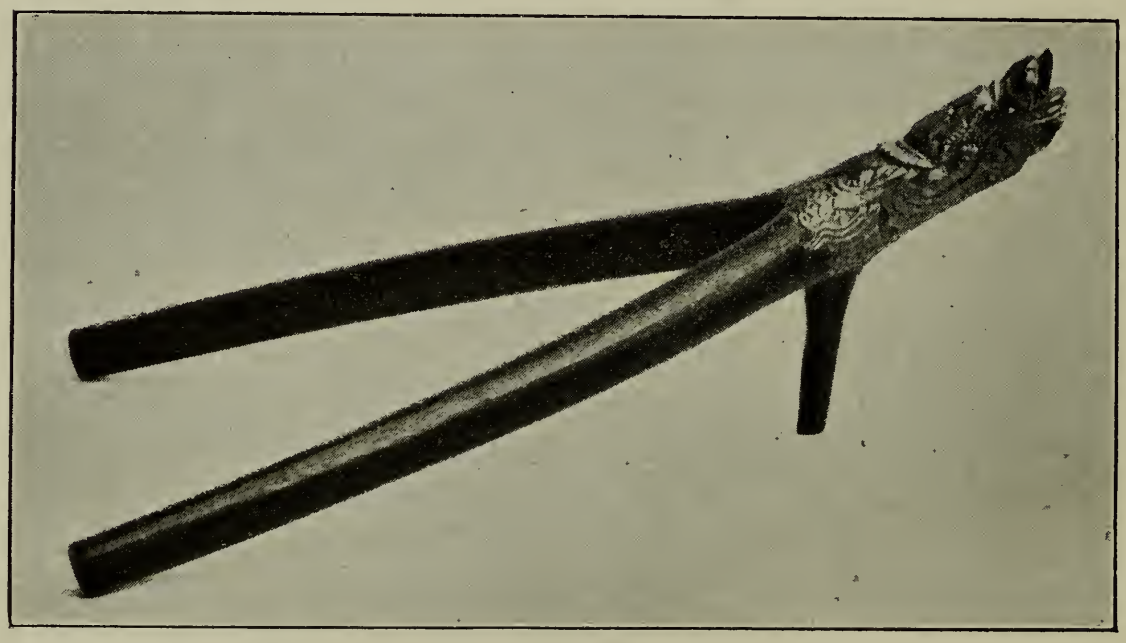
1 卜以問疑也. The Khang-hi Dictionary. 2 乩筆.

to the rising and culminating sun; if obtained from that side, it not only will be feared by spectres with a fear of peculiar intensity (cf. page 959), but, being imbued with the light of nature in its greatest strength, that light, which is the source of universal divine intelligence, will cause it to produce oracles always thoroughly intelligent, intelligible, and sage. The excellence of this fork may, moreover, be perfected by human magic. That is to say, before being cut off, one or more mighty charms may be carved in the bark of the tree, or attached to it; and during the cutting, efficient spells may be pronounced, commanding the fork to display animation and life for ever, and give clear revelations whenever handled. And it stands to reason, that to enhance its excellence, the fork must be cut off on a day and hour which are auspicious because they are under the influence of the Universal Yang. Highly excellent ki are also those which the gods, for the consultation of whom they are destined, themselves point out on the tree in the same way in which, as described on page 1321, they select medicines.

Fig. 26.



Instrument for spirits to write with.

Finally, the forked branch is painted red, to increase its spectre-expelling capacity. It is about 18 inches in length, and has (see Fig. 26) a short stump, projecting at the point of bifurcation at almost right angles to the arms; this stump serves to trace the divine scrawl in some bran, sand or incense-ashes, poured out on a table or on a

large wooden platter which is called *ki poâⁿ* [1] or "divining-platter", on which the stuff is from time to time rolled smooth and even. The medium, who holds one arm of the fork with his right hand, is called the *kiáh tsiàⁿᵍ ki ê lâng* or *khan tsiàⁿᵍ ki ê* [2], "bearer or holder of the right ki"; at the same time, a member of his club holds the other arm with his left hand, and is therefore the *kiáh tò ki ê* or *khan tò ki ê lâng* [3], "bearer or holder of the left ki". The latter is also called the *hù ki* [4], "secondary or auxiliary diviner", as he merely behaves neutrally and passively, abstaining from disturbing the movements of the medium, which are those of the spirit which is in him and in the ki. The writing down of oracles on the table or platter is called *kiáh ki chᶜut jī* or *khan ki chᶜut jī* [5], "to produce characters by bearing or holding the ki".

Clubs which practise the system are in many cases a shabby lot, their chapels or temples unknown to fame, their spirit-writing only appealing to the very lowest class. But there are many of a better sort. The gods of some clubs are in special repute for their oracles, so that their temples draw a considerable income from the purses of the well-to-do, and even the literary and the mandarin class. In such a case, the club will even contain educated men, transcription of divine language into legible human writing being no work for the rabble. There are large temples to which people of the best classes, and even high officials, resort for oracles in numbers so great every day, that it is necessary to register their names and their subjects for consultation, in order that everybody may duly have his turn. The ki of a fashionable club is as a rule clad in red silk or broadcloth, on which dragons are stitched with gold thread; for it is clear that, having to harbour so often the spirit of a god, the instrument deserves, just as well as his image, to wear the dress of divinity, which is a mantle embroidered with the said imperial animals. Of such a ki of higher order, the end below the vertex is also nicely carved and gilded, representing the head and scaly neck of a dragon or snake (see Fig. 26).

For consultation of a god by means of this writing-implement,

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1 乩盤.
2 舉正乩之人 or 牽正乩者.
3 舉左乩者 or 牽左乩之人.
4 副乩.
5 舉乩出字 or 牽乩出字.

some members of the club assemble before his altar, on which, in the hope of winning his good-will, incense with some sacrificial food and spirits are arranged. The medium and the secondary, each holding an arm of the ki, stand by the platter while "the spirit is invited or invoked" [1] by means of an incantation in the manner known to us (cf. page 1273); it "descends into the ki", *kàng ki* [2]; or it "goes up into it", *tsiūⁿᵍ ki* [3]; or it "adheres to it", *hū ki* [4]; or it "has contact with it", *koan ki* [5]. Up and down the vertex moves; the *ki tông* behaves as usual in his state of possession; the motion of his right arm is slow and spasmodic, as if he were wresting the ki out of the assistant's hand. All this tends to prove, that the implement has become extremely heavy in consequence of its occupancy by the god. Suddenly with a bang the tip comes down upon the writing-table; like a hammer it jumps up and down, two, three, even more times, its violence being tempered by the automatic resistance of the other holder. But almost instantly it scrawls something, and the interpreter reads, "I am the god So-and-so", for indeed it is always of high importance for the consultants to know precisely from whom the oracle comes. Should the spirit not mention its name and surname of its own accord, these are politely asked for by the leading member of the club by means of an incantation which is slowly chanted as many times as is necessary, and which is comprised in terms like for instance these, "With whom do we meet? we must become better "acquainted with thy name; in front of the hills of Lu-kiang "(Amoy island) there are murderous influences which thwart our "purposes, and we desire to walk through life with placid winds "and smooth waves" [6]. The spirit will then write an answer like this: "You desire to know the true surname and name of me, "god that I am; the first part of it is Kung-sun, and Chᶜeu is "the second" [7]. It may even occasionally mention the time when it lived, its birth-place, and other particulars.

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1 請神 or 召神.

2 降乩. 3 上乩.

4 附乩. 5 關乩.

6 相逢何必更知名、鷺江山前殺氣橫、風波靜處過平生.

7 願知我神眞姓名、先有公孫、後有丑.

The name being obtained, the spirit is politely asked by the leader whether it will now give an oracle; and the answer is given by another flourishing, followed by a knocking or bumping and scratching on the table. With remarkable insight and quickness the reader dictates the scrawl to the scribe, who puts everything on paper, an oracle being thus obtained in versified form, in two or more lines which consist of an equal number of characters. It is therefore evident that, to be a reader or scribe, some poetic ability is essential; or he must be an improvisatore, knowing a quantity of poetical phrases by heart. The task of a reader or scribe is especially difficult when many clients are present, as the god will then give his answers with a striking rapidity, and even with precipitation. Besides, gods and spirits have their odd fancies, and are prone to write characters whimsically upside down, or the components in the wrong sequence. Or they will suddenly stop writing when just in the middle of a phrase, the ki at the same time losing its weight because the spirit departs; it must then be set in motion again by re-animation of the medium and the ki by means of a continuous recital of the incantation and the burning of many "eye-opening papers". Apart from such incidents, it is far from rare for the spirit to write anything but answers to the questions which are propounded. If asked *e. g.* whether a certain junk will safely return into the port, it may occur to him to reply that the consultant is a bad man, who had better atone for his sins immediately by thoroughly reforming his conduct and conciliating the divine world by means of sacrifices, masses, and other good works. Such disagreeable things may occur and recur in an endless variety, even though many consultants undoubtedly are shrewd enough to ascribe them to the reader and the scribe, who, if at a loss how to answer, have recourse to smart improvisation or to commonplace phrases.

When the oracle is consulted in cases of illness, the scrawl will sometimes reveal the fact that the spirit can give no advice unless it has seen the patient in person. It is then the task of the medium and the other holder of the ki to shuffle through the street, firmly grasping the instrument, until after much slow and uncertain movement, alternated by hurried steps, they reach the house. There going on in the same wise for some time in the premises and rooms, they finally reach the sickbed, pass their writing-instrument over the patient from time to time, and return in the same queer way to the altar whence they came, to find now the instrument quite

willing to write a recipe or some medical advice. It is also not uncommon for the two men, while actually scribbling, to be pushed by the ki to another part of the temple or its premises, or into the street, the spirit having somebody there to consult or something to see. But such ostentation, calculated to make an impression on the public, is only indulged in by clubs of less fashionable standing, and regarded with very little reverence by the educated.

But the situation becomes really critical when the ki goes totally wrong because an undesired spirit, or even some spectre, takes possession of it, or clings to the soul of the medium who holds it, with evident intent to manifest its power of visiting men with evil by causing the point to write very unpropitious oracles, or oracles which are mere nonsense, or which are utterly unintelligible and useless. Fortunately, however, such base interference seldom lasts longer than a few moments, for the real spirit is not long in coming and making an end of it, even being so kind to write down the name or quality of the peccant being. Such incidents are called *ts'ái ki* [1], "playing fast and loose with the ki". To keep them down to a minimum, good care is taken that the ki, while unused, is always stored away on the altar of the god that is wont to enter it, and even within the shrine of its image, so that the spirit of the latter can pervade it perpetually and thoroughly, and no other spirits can infect it.

On the other hand, the ki may cause surprises which arouse great satisfaction and delight. A god not called, even not at all thought of, may occasionally descend into it and state himself to be of so high a rank and dignity, that his oracles must be of a peculiar value. Even Kwan-ti in his own person, although he has a place on the Parnassus of the State Religion as patron divinity of military matters, often deigns to manifest himself in this way. Great also is the joy when some deceased member of the family of the consultant unexpectedly manifests himself. He is then sure to describe his condition in yonder regions, and how, where, and when his relations may mend that condition by means of sacrifices and requiem-masses, the family thus learning the means by which to ensure at the same time his gratitude, protection and help, so useful in the life on earth. And should that same soul then come down another time, and declare that it is now happy and contented, having, in consequence of those masses, even attained to

[1] 訾占乩.

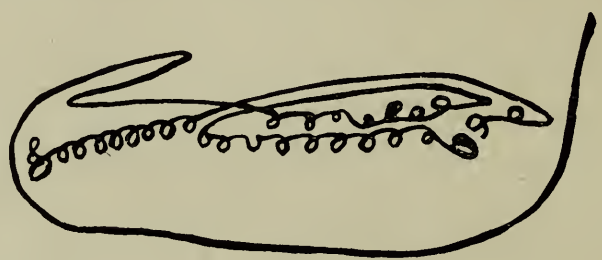
the rank of a god or buddha, entitling it to the veneration of the human race, then satisfaction is at its height, and may even lead to the erection of a special altar, furnished with its image or painted portrait, where it may gain fame, popularity and worship by giving reliable oracles and sage advice to every comer. And having thus yielded for a time great pecuniary profit to its owners, the dwelling may in the end be gratefully bought by pious inhabitants of the ward, for conversion into a temple (cf. p. 1272).

Oracles obtained by means of this graphic system of psychomancy bear, of course, no other character than those produced by mediums verbally, since in point of fact they all alike proceed from the brains of interpreters and scribes. The interest, which the educated take in the system, is so great that, desirous of oracles thoroughly reliable, many will enable the god to prepare properly for an answer; to this end, they first write a letter to him, in which they lay down their questions with such precision of detail as they think is wanted. This document at the same time informs the god that they intend to set out a sacrifice on his altar on such-and-such a day, and that they humbly invite him then to come and partake of it and at the same time give his answer. In good time the letter is put into an envelope which bears the name and title of the god, and is burned at his altar, together with some counterfeit money, made of gold paper. The success of the consultation may also be much furthered by the consultants piously purifying themselves beforehand by means of ablutions and abstinence, and dressing in clean clothes. Indeed, gods or s h e n are pure, just as pure as the Universal Yang of which they are the components, and pure beings are instinctively shy of impurity; moreover, the *Li ki* teaches explicitly, that for communication with gods a vigil is requisite (cf. page 1247).

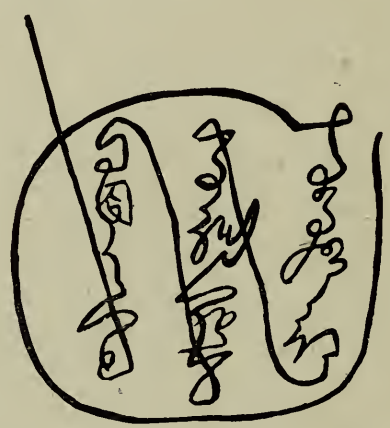
Any k i may also be instrumental in the acquisition of the handwriting of gods and famous men of the past. It occurs in fact that such a being writes of its own accord that it wishes to give autographs. Forthwith then an ordinary human writing-pencil is tied to the stump of the k i, and dipped into vermilion ink; and the two holders move it over a sheet of yellow paper, laid out to receive the writing. The pencil may have to be dipped in several times, and the paper replaced by many sheets; and the height of satisfaction is reached should something like human letters be discernible amid the scrawl. These may then be given a finishing touch and corrected, and, copied on scrolls, suspended in rooms on the walls as

rare, protective charms of unequalled excellence, valued in accordance with the reputation of the god.

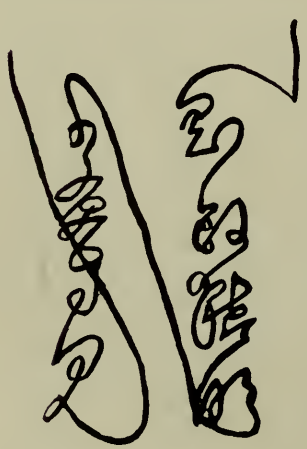
In 1894, when plague was rife in Hongkong, a handbill on devil-expelling peach-red paper was put into circulation there, informing the people that Kwan-ti had descended into a ki no less than five times. At the first descent, he had scrawled this line



— it was not interpreted in the handbill, and we are, of course, not able to decipher it ourselves. At the second visit of the god, the ki produced the following scrawl



— explained to be an impression of his seal, being, in three rows, these twelve characters: 協理瘟部事務關某自用之寶, "seal for the private use of Kwan So-and-so [1], Assessor for the administration of the labours of the Plague Department". And on the third descent, the divine pencil produced this line



— meaning: 剛毅精明、不賢自見, "the strong and inflexible (in virtue) must sedulously manifest these qualities, so that immoral persons are induced to look to themselves". His fourth visit was of the greatest ethical interest; indeed, he then wrote no less than forty-two lines of six characters, reading as follows, in free translation:

1 某, So-and-so, stands for his personal name Yü 羽, tabooed out of respect.

"I am Kwan So-and-so of the Great Han dynasty; I have "something to announce to you, people that are now seeking for "medicines. If you observe with attention the seasonal conditions "as they are doing their work among the people, you cannot fail "to see that in this year they are not undisturbed in their course. "Dry and poisonous exhalations from the coal-yards which lie "adjacent to the forts have been spreading about in condensation "for a long time; and yet you did remain irreligious then, until "the present distressing calamity came, to drive you to acts of "repentance before Buddha and to recitation of Buddhist holy "books. But fate has disposed, and fate cannot be escaped; hence "even your charms and medicines are absolutely powerless against "it. The catastrophe was reported among yourselves to be rife in "Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and to create terror and fright in "Shantung and Shansi, and to prevail also in King-cheu and in "Chihli; from all sides there came information about its prevalence, "and yet, why was there in that time no symptom of remorse "among you, nor any improvement of conduct? Now the catastrophe "can no longer be diverted from its course; indeed, fate must "now have its fulfilment, and in the second place, punishment "for your secret sins is necessary. This visitation shall not pass "away until one or two out of every ten of you have succumbed "before your own eyes; it is Heaven's will that it shall be so, "and it cannot be escaped. But Heaven is also compassionate for "all that live. It has therefore deigned to entrust to me the "management of the whole matter; indeed, on account of my "power, meritorious conduct, and feats performed formerly, spectres, "wherever I show myself, stand in fear, and the gods in awe. "Shame upon you! not one virtuous thought has as yet arisen in "you, and nevertheless you pretend that the sacrificial victims which "you kill for the gods, your expensive paper money, incense and "candles will save you from this epidemic, and will lengthen your "lives! Deplore your sins immediately before me, and take an oath "before Heaven, for who is there among you to whom the mani- "festations of my majesty are unknown? And let there be no "insincerity, either in your mouths or in your minds; but let your "oath produce complete reformation and immediate evidence that "you will no longer remain light-minded. If then there be clear "proof that your house is a house of virtue, and that you recite "my canon and rely upon it, not despising me in your hearts, "then on the tenth day of recitation shall I positively manifest

"my power, and, appearing in person, make you firmly believe in "my majesty and might." [1]

And descending into the ki for the fifth time, the god gave in the following terms a detailed account of the way in which he had been commissioned by Heaven to mitigate the effects of the plague: "By appointment of the Great Imperial Ts'ing dynasty, I am the Inspector and Ruler of the Buddhas, Gods and Immortals, as also the Keeper of the red book for registration of durations of lives, and of the black register of the terminations of lives, and the Manager of all temples and convents. Soaring upward to the Palace of Heaven, in order to entreat for prolongation of human lives and to deliberate with the Celestial Emperor about matters relating to humanity, I came at the gate of the third heaven, and met with the gods of Winds and Fire and that of the planet Venus [2], who had been directed by Heaven to return to the earth. Heaven, thus they told me, in his just indignation about the depravity of the human race, among which wickedness and dishonesty prevail even among children, had just then directed Venus to go to the god of Water and order him to cause the Yangtzĕ to inundate the border countries, and also to visit the god of Wind and tell him to co-operate with that of Water in such a way that a plague should spread, which,

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[1] 吾乃大漢關某、諭爾求藥人等。若叩民間時事、
須知歲序不平。更且附城煤地、燥毒久蘊匪輕、
汝等閒常無禮、急時懺佛誦經。在數難逃數內、
縱有符藥何靈。汝說粵垣是刼、東西兩魯尤驚、
荊州與同直隸、各處已有先聲、何乃仍無悔改。
今數不差毫零、一是本當數盡、二爲暗咎該懲。
目下十之一二、未期了此災徵、本屬天機莫洩。
惟憐保赤衆生、莫若依吾一事、吾定親力親行、
看我從前臨事、到處鬼怕神欽。堪憎善念未舉、
先自宰殺奉神、多費紙錢香燭、豈云免疾延生。
立早吾前悔改、對天盟誓一程、誰不知吾威顯。
心口兩莫欺生、盟誓施一善舉、當立証據休輕。
或表善堂有據、或誦我經依經、心果不欺關某、
誦經十日必靈、關某親現形跡、方信某有威靈.

[2] 太白金星.

seconded by the god of Fire, might reduce the human race to less than half its numerical strength. I was struck with consternation. Hurrying to the Empyrean, I implored the Celestial Emperor of Jade mercifully to mitigate His order in so far that the visitation should last no longer than half a year, and in every department no more than five thousand families should be struck. Moreover I requested, that, should there be sincere repentance of sins, the "judges of merits" (see page 1253) might be entitled to sue out Heaven's pardon. On this the God of Heaven charged me with the management of the Department of Plagues, and directed me to appoint a hundred judges of merits for every province, who, together with a number of honest and impartial officers who had departed from human life, and a thousand itinerant devils of the nether world, should descend into the world of men, and there institute a close investigation into their conduct. You now know the reason why, as you may see with your own eyes, in these days spectres are so busy among men. But no dwelling where filial devotion and friendship prevail will be entered by any plague-demons; such homes have nothing to fear, and it is my wish that, thinking of the greatness of my power, they will feel quiet and resigned. Let them also bear in mind that the catastrophe is of Heaven's sending, and therefore cannot be diverted even by me. People who slight my warning, be it ever so little, shall fall victims to the plague; and those who slight it in a greater degree shall be cut down by the sword of Cheu Ts'ang [1], my attendant. Neither with sacrifices, nor with worship will you be able to bribe me; I do not at all belong to those beings who are greedy of sacrifice and worship. My protection is not to be obtained save by cultivation of virtue and sanctity, combined with recitations of my canon; or in the case of women who cannot read, it may be obtained by one incense-stick kindled in the morning, and one in the evening. But do not forget, that if your conduct is not filial, honest and pure, it is far better for you to leave my canon unread.

"Those who have sincerely and fervently pledged an oath before me to be virtuous, must draw with my sword thirty-six circles in the air, and below them write this sentence, "Kwan So-and-so, Assessor for the administration of the labours of the Plague Department, is here" [2]; if affixed to the door, it will prevent all spectres from entering. But woe to you if you thus use my names

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[1] 周倉. [2] 協理瘟部事務關某在此.

without repentance of sins or without taking the oath! the judge of merit will discover you, and give no pardon. I lay great stress upon these my life-saving instructions, imparted by me by means of the ki. Beware of making use of them after the manner of deceivers! He who distributes twenty copies of them will protect himself from the plague, and distribution of two hundred copies will protect his whole family".

Here followed a recipe for a medical compound consisting of seventeen ingredients, written down by the god on the occasion of the same fifth descent, together with a direction how to prepare it; this mixture was to be swallowed should plague-boils appear and the temperature rise. And finally the handbill gave these charms

calculated to avert the plague if duly copied with cinnabar ink on a sheet of yellow paper, and pasted by the door, the canon of Kwan-ti being in the mean time piously recited. These characters occur in no human dictionary, but are elementary symbols in whimsical combinations, evidently harbouring some mystic meaning; 竹 chuh indeed may mean the homonymous 逐, "to drive away", and 捉 and 足 may be deemed to represent the same sound; and 疒 or "sickness" might stand for 瘟 or 疫, "the plague".

If an idol which is private property is applied to for oracles by means of the ki, the owners are paid for the consultations of it, but the charges are seldom excessive, competition being rather keen in this line of business. The image is frequently transported to private dwellings, either for consultation about patients, or, owing to the necessity of rebuilding or repair, for asking its divine advice with respect to Fung-shui. In such cases, the god himself is consulted beforehand by means of divining-blocks about the day and hour on which he shall be thus transported. Very often it is deemed sufficient to take only the ki thither, this instrument being, as well as the image, imbued with the spirit of the god. In such cases the possessed ki will hardly ever begin to write until the two bearers have careered about the house and its premises for a while, in order to enable the spirit to inspect everything. Beside

the altar-table, which bears a set of sacrificial articles, an arm-chair is placed, and the god conjured down by means of incense, spells, "eye-opening papers" and drumming; and after he has been invited with polite phrases, bows and prostrations to sit down, more chairs are set out for other gods, should he be supposed to be accompanied by any. Long hours, nay entire evenings and days, may then be spent in letting the k i write; indeed the questions will be almost endless should kinsmen and friends avail themselves of the opportunity to drop in and obtain advice. Should the family belong to the fashionable class, great decorum is observed, as at every meeting of educated people; each question is made in a soft and solemn tone, or even carefully written on paper, and burned with an additional quantity of sheets of paper money to enrich the god.

Such spiritualistic conferences are frequent among the better classes. They may be connected with a variety of magical and ceremonial humbug for which there are no rules. Questions concerning success expected in commercial and other enterprise, or in the state-examinations, or about any matters of life and death, are put in literary or reading language, and answered in the same style, even in verse and rhyme, with classical and historical allusions; and though the simplest explanation of this erudition of the god is that the readers and writers of the scrawl themselves are men of letters, the confidence of the consultants in the divine origin of the answers is not shaken thereby. Nor is the general credulity strained by the fact that spirits announce themselves in the scrawl very often by names which occur in the Classics or in historical novels, and therefore are familiar to scholars and even general readers.

No *ki tông* is required for such conferences. His place may be occupied by anybody who is able to handle the k i even without any symptoms of possession or ecstasy. The reader is the leading man of the conference. Though he is seldom non-plussed, and generally reads the scrawl fluently, cases may occur when he discovers mixtures of lines and points which defy interpretation, and just for this reason, unless they are ascribed to tricks of spectres, attract attention to an uncommon degree. All men of letters are sure to hear of the event and to sharpen their wits upon the interpretation; and the solutions suggested are apt in many such cases to create disquiet and nervous agitation among a people who constantly live in fear of plagues, droughts, robbers, rebels, and even attacks of devils *en masse*.

Thus the readers of spirit-scrawl may be considered to be the actual professors of the system. Many make a calling of their art,

receiving at their houses clients who seek to have their doubts dispelled and are willing to pay for the boon; on these occasions they do all the work by themselves, including the handling of the ki, which they cause to write without themselves manifesting any possession. Wild gesticulation and bumping thus being excluded, it is not necessary for the instrument to be so solid as that which we have described. In Kwangtung they use a thin rod of some length, with a slight curve at one end, and the other end fixed rectangularly in the middle of a broader piece of wood, about half a foot in length, which is borne by the acting medium on the forefingers or palms of the hands, while the curved end rests on the writing-table. [1]

The magical "phœnix" thus "soars and flies" undoubtedly everywhere in the Empire, in the Metropolis in Imperial circles, as well as in hamlets in the huts of the peasantry. It has a powerful influence on the exercise of religion, because gods who descend into it are wont also to use it for the promotion of their own private interests, as *e. g.* to order that sacrifices shall be offered, or sacrificial masses celebrated, or even chapels and temples shall be erected for their worship. A case is even known, and recorded in books, of a spirit which wrote on the table that it was longing for a higher post in the divine world, and therefore bade its people send to the Emperor of Heaven an earnest petition that it might be promoted. Of course the people could not refuse to comply with so reasonable a request; the petition was written and ceremoniously burned; and not long afterwards the spirit descended again into the ki, to announce the happy news that the petition had been granted and such-and-such a dignity had been conferred upon it; for which reason it now expressed to its votaries its most cordial thanks.

Besides, application is made to gods by means of the ki for all sorts of hints with regard to the celebration of their festivals. They are asked, for instance, whether and at what times the people shall "tread fire", or climb a sword-ladder, or use a bridge of swords, or how and when processions shall be organized, etc. It is also the task of the ki to reveal incantations by which spirits may be called into their mediums, or spells by which spectres may be expelled from men, houses, parishes and villages; in short there is

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1 Eitel, in Notes and Queries on China and Japan, I, page 164; and Gray, China, II, pp. 21 and 22.

nothing in the will of the Universe, represented and divulged by its shen, which this admirable instrument may not reveal. It even serves the gods to work out the moral education of the human race. Indeed, exhortations and threats have for centuries been received by means of it throughout China in very large numbers; many are, by the care of virtuous men of erudition, printed to this day for circulation by thousands, reprinted over and over, and bound up into books for gratuitous distribution.

Spirit-writing may be an old art in China, seeing that Animism in that part of the world is old. But nothing on this head can as yet be stated with certainty, for want of documentary evidence. No written reference to it of an earlier date than the T'ang dynasty is known to us.

From two small books of the T'ang epoch, which we have before us, we learn that the art of making spirits write was practised in that age, though in manners unlike the modern one which we have described. One of these books is the *Chih i ki* [1], "On Strange Matters collected and written down", which bears the name of Li Siün [2] as its author. It contains the following lines:

"When the high Minister of State and feudal prince of Wei was "only a secondary officer in Ping-cheu, before he had been on "duty there for ten months, suddenly a man from the country, "named Wang, politely applied at the gate of his mansion for an "interview. The prince told him to sit down with him, on which "he said, 'I am a man who can find out things concerning the "unseen world'. And as the prince did not forthwith display much "interest, the visitor bade him place a table in the principal inner "apartment, with nothing else than some paper, a writing-pencil, "incense, and water; then he told him to lower the mat which "hung before the door, and silently pay attention to what would "happen; whereupon they sat down together in the western side-"gallery. After a while, Wang said, 'Now let us go and see', "and they found eight very big characters on the paper, with an "explanation in ordinary square writing, reading thus, 'Your dignity "will be that of a very highest Minister; you will live to your "sixty-fourth year'. Wang now hastily asked permission to go "home, and it was never ascertained whither he went; and in the

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[1] 摭異記. [2] 李濬.

"Hwui chʿang period (A. D. 841—847) the prince was three times "registered as a grandee of the very highest official rank. He died "in Hai-nan just at the age which Wang had ascertained." [1]

The second of the two books is the *Ki shen luh*, which contains the following tale: "In Kiang-tso there was one Chi Tsien, a "person from Yü-kan, belonging to a family of petty officials. He "alone was bent on study and letters, and he called himself a "graduate of the lowest class (siu-tsʿai). In the first month of the "year, in the night when the moon was full, it was customary for the "people to take a wicker rice-tray, and dress it with clothes, and "insert a chopstick into it by way of beak, which they caused to "write on a platter covered with flour, in order to divine. The "family of Chi Tsien likewise did this, and without serious intent "conjured the tray, saying, 'Pray divine what office Chi Tsien the "siu-tsʿai will get'. Whereupon the tray wrote thus, 'He will "pass the age of fifty; I cannot write out anything from his "book of life, but only from that of his friend Ching Yuen-chʿu; "this man will remain poor and not be invested with an official "dignity, and he will die at the age of forty-eight'. Afterwards, "when living in Cheh-si, Ching Yuen-chʿu was recommended for "a post in active government service; but he had exercised this function "for no longer than one day when a virulent illness carried him "off, just in his forty-eighth year. Chi Tsien afterwards became "Controlling Judge in Kin-ling, and died while on duty, at the "age of fifty-one." [2]

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[1] 太尉衛國公爲并州從事、到職未旬月、忽有王山人者詣門請謁。公命與坐、乃曰、某善按冥也。公初未之奇、因請正寢備几案紙筆香水而已、因令垂簾靜伺之、生與公偕坐於西廡下。頃之王生曰、可驗矣、紙上書八字甚大、且有楷註曰、位極人臣、壽六十四。王生遽請歸、竟不知所去、及會昌朝三策一品。薨於海南、果符王生所按之年.

[2] 江左有支戩者、餘干人、世爲小吏。支戩獨好學爲文、竊自稱秀才。會正月望夜時俗取飯箕、衣之衣服、插箸爲嘴、使畫盤粉爲卜。戩家爲之、其時戲祝曰、請卜支秀才他日至何官。乃

The trays which were used for oracle-writing at that time, were probably the same as those which, made in a circular shape of thin slips of bamboo, are in universal use to this day for winnowing rice or grain by throwing it up in the wind. References to their use for divination, which occur in works of later times, intimate that the tray probably was suspended above the writing-table, in such a manner that, as soon as the spirit did settle in it, the chopstick might move over the table in any direction; or it was held by a medium with one hand at one side, and by another person at the other, thus being enabled to move up and down according to the will of the spirit, also to reciprocate the obeisances of the consultants, or even to strike at them. Brooms, likewise at hand everywhere, were used in a similar manner. Sudden swinging or rotating motions, occasionally remarkably quick, indicated occupation by the spirit.

Of course it must have been observed soon enough that oracles could be drawn from any medium in a much simpler way, viz. by letting him, while under inspiration, write them down directly with an ordinary writing-pencil. Indeed, Cheu Mih, who wrote in the thirteenth century, informs us that they were actually obtained in this way. "Lü, Second Guardian of the Heir Apparent, recommended "a magician who could bring down Immortals and was a champion "at his cups, called for this reason Li the drunkard. Whenever "people in Shi-cheu (in Hupeh pr.) prayed for anything, he directed "them to write their prayer on paper and roll this up tightly; "then he bade them recite the prayer while burning a lump of "incense, whereupon he put it into an envelope and sealed it, "burning it in the censer, together with a hundred sheets of gold "paper. This done, he asked for spirits, and greedily swallowed even "as much as four or five pints. Having thereupon rubbed his ink, "he wrote big characters, either figures like k w a in running hand "or not, or verses and poems, filling up several tens of sheets, all "neatly and correctly, and quite legibly. The answers which they "gave were now and then quite relevant to the questions." [1]

畫年五十餘、他人籍不可記、惟記其友人鄭元樞、貧賤無官、亡年四十八。元樞後居浙西、薦於執政、行有日矣、暴疾而卒、實年四十八。戩後爲金陵觀察判官、竟卒於任、年五十一.

[1] 呂小保薦一術士、能降仙、豪於飲、號曰李醉。施州人凡有所禱祈、令人自書一紙、實卷之、

These lines are instructive, as they show that it is to the Chinese even a matter of indifference whether the inspiration of mediums is obtained from "a spirit" or from "spirits". That this drunken medium proved only able to write large-sized characters is no more astonishing than the fact that the writing, scrawled to this day by such unwieldy writing-instruments as the ki are, is excessively gross and large. As a matter of fact it is no writing, but merely a web of lines, out of which only the wit and fancy of interpreters can extract characters by arbitrary combination, alteration, addition, and omission.

The abnormal dimensions of the characters written by spirits have even given rise to extravagant tales. "In the second year of the "Ching hwo period (A. D. 1112), some people of Siang-yih (in "Honan pr.?) on the 15th day of the first moon called the goddess "Tszĕ-ku (see p. 1324) by way of diversion. When she had finished "her writing on the paper, the characters were one foot in diameter. "One of the company then asked, 'Can you write characters of "still greater size?' And forthwith she wrote, 'Please paste together "two hundred maps of the Siang district; I will write for you the "one character 福 (happiness) upon it'. On which somebody said, "'There is no difficulty about the paper, but where can so large a "pencil be got?' And she answered, 'Please fasten together in a "bundle ten pounds of hemp, and thus make a pencil more than "two feet in diameter; and for ink take a large basin with ready-"made wet paint'. Those who interested themselves in the matter "provided the paper and the pencil, and repaired to the wheat-fields "of a rich man, where they laid out the paper and assembled, to "see what would happen. And the goddess came, and wrote, "'Please procure a man round whose neck the pencil may be tied'. "And this man did not feel that his body rose in the air and moved "backwards and forwards over the plain, in such a wise that the "character was ready in a moment, neat and beautiful. And then "(the said man) took a small pencil, and wrote in the corner of "the paper these words, 'Take it to the Süen-teh gate, and sell it

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以香一片令自祈禱、且自緘封書押、并金紙一百焚於香爐中。然後索酒、痛飲、多至四五斗。乃濃墨大書、或草、或畫卦影、或賦詩詞之類、多至數十紙、皆粲然可讀。其答所問往往多驗.

Kwei sin tsah shih.

"there for five hundred strings of coins'.

"But the prefect of the district arrested the persons who had "gathered on the spot, pretending that they had occupied themsel- "ves with sorcery. As a consequence, the prefect of the department "was informed of the event and examined it judicially; thereupon, "without taking any further measures, he reported the matter to "the emperor. Then there came an imperial order, to the effect "that there should be a repetition of the writing in the park behind "the Palace, and thus the truth should be tested. The emperor "in person went thither to see. On this occasion, the character 慶 "(felicity) was produced in about the same size as the character 福 "on the other day, and in the same style of writing. The emperor "was so much interested in the matter that he ordered a spot to "be selected in Siang-yih for the erection of a temple for the "goddess, and that every year a sacrifice should there be presented "to her." [1]

Ho Wei, the author of these lines, lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, under the Sung dynasty. Books written while this House reigned inform us that the ki were not only called shen ki[2], "diviners of the shen", but also sien ki[3], "diviners of the Immortals", evidently because these saints by Taoist discipline

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[1] 政和二年襄邑民因上元請紫姑神爲戲。既書紙間、其字徑尺。或問之曰、汝更能大書否。卽書曰、請連黏襄表二百幅、當爲作一福字。或曰、紙易耳、安得許大筆也。曰、請用麻皮十斤縛作筆、令徑二尺許、墨漿以大器貯備濡染也。諸好事因集紙筆、就一富人麥場、鋪展、聚觀。神至、書曰、請一人繫筆于項。其人不覺身之騰踔往來場間、須臾字成、端麗。復取小筆、書于紙角云、持往宣德門賣錢五百貫。

既而縣以妖捕羣集之人。太府聞之、取就鞫治、訖無他狀、卽具奏知。有旨令就後苑再書驗之。上皇爲幸苑中臨視。乃書一慶字、與前書福字大小相稱、字體亦同。上皇大奇之、因令於襄邑擇地建祠、歲祀之. *Ch'un-chu ki wen.*

[2] 神乩. [3] 仙乩.

were found to descend into the instruments with obvious frequency. Particularly famous for such manifestations was Lü Tung-pin [1], worshipped as one of the principal Taoist saints to this day, also by the learned, who consider him one of the patron saints of literary studies. He is reputed to have lived on earth as a literary graduate in the eighth century; and the custom of erecting temples and altars to him seems to have developed largely in particular in the twelfth century. To this day it is especially students and scholars who consult his spirit by means of the ki, side by side with that of Kwan-ti, who, likewise on account of his literary attainments, holds the same dignity of patron divinity of literature.

The use of the ki is mostly called in the books fu ki [2], "to bear the ki". A more poetical term is fu lwan [3], "to bear the phœnix", evidently because Gods and Immortals, like emperors, are supposed to drive in so-called lwan yü [4] or "phœnix carriages", soaring therein through the air. Therefore, when the ki, occupied by the spirit, is being waved and brandished, it is said that "the phœnix is flying" [5]. We have found this term for the first time in the *Choh king luh*, which was published in 1366; and we have seen on page 1242 that it occurs also in the Code of Laws of the Ming dynasty and the now reigning House, in an article by which the use of the ki is prohibited.

It is certainly not strange to find this prohibition in the laws of two dynasties whose principles of government and State Religion were thoroughly classical, and therefore could not possibly tolerate unclassical heresies. Stranger it seems, though by no means inexplicable, that nevertheless the House of Ming has produced an emperor who showed himself decidedly addicted to belief in the reliability of such spirit-rapping. It is stated in its Standard History, that Shi Tsung, who reigned from 1522 to 1567, "had erected in the "private Palace a terrace for the consultation of an Immortal by "means of the ki, and regulated the punishments and rewards "(of his officers) in accordance with the oracles which that spirit "gave. Hung Tsieh demonstrated the nonsense of it, but thereby infu- "riated the emperor so much that he wished to punish him. [6] When "this same Minister of the Board of Civil Office had thus criticized

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[1] 呂洞賓. [2] 扶乩. [3] 扶鸞. [4] 鸞輿. [5] 鸞飛.
[6] 帝於禁中築乩仙臺、間用其言決威福。浹論其妄、帝大怒、欲罪之. Chapter 197, l. 17.

"the use of the ki for the consultation of the said Immortal, the "emperor immediately ordained the erasure of his name from the "registers (of government officers).[1]

"Lan Tao-hing had acquired imperial favour by his skill in bearing "the phœnix. Whenever the emperor had a question to ask, he "put it into a closed envelope, and sent a court-official with it "to the altar, to burn it there; but in many cases the answers were "irrelevant to the imperial writing. The emperor therefore accused "that official of being unclean; on which the latter felt uneasy, "and informed Tao-hing of the matter. This man now opened the "letters, to read them before burning them; from this moment "the answers tallied well with the imperial handwriting, and the "emperor was quite content. Once he put the question why there "prevailed misrule in the realm. Tao-hing, who had an old grudge "against Yen Sung, made the Immortal of the ki say, that there "existed misrule because Yen Sung was plotting. Then the emperor "asked, 'Why then do not the Immortals on high kill him?' The "answer was, that they left it to the emperor to do it himself. "Thereupon the emperor became very agitated; and as just then the "Censor Tseu Ying-lung forwarded to the Throne an accusation "against Yen Sung, he forthwith dismissed the latter and sent him "home. But Yen Sung knew perfectly well of the part which Tao-hing "had played in this matter. By means of large bribes he induced "the officers in close attendance to undermine the imperial favour "which he enjoyed, and to call attention to his lawless deeds; and "the result was that the emperor ordered him to be brought to "justice. He was then condemned to decapitation, but died in "the gaol."[2]

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[1] 吏部尚書熊浹諫乩仙、卽命削籍. Chapter 307, l. 23.

[2] 藍道行以扶鸞術得幸。有所問輒密封、遣中官詣壇焚之、所答多不如旨。帝咎中官穢褻、中官懼、交通道行。啟視而後焚、答始稱旨、帝大喜。間今天下何以不治。道行故惡嚴嵩、假乩仙言嵩奸罪。帝問、果爾上仙何不殛之。答曰、留待皇帝自殛。帝心動、會御史鄒應龍劾嵩疏上、帝卽放嵩、還已。嵩詗知道行所爲。厚賂帝左右發其怙寵、招權諸不法事、下詔獄。坐斬、死獄中. Chapter 307, ll. 25 *seq*,

After this historical digression returning to the *ki tóng* of the present time and their spirit-writing, we have to note that it is common for them to use for the production of such writing, instead of a ki, the litter in which they are wont to transport their god. The medium and three of his club-brethren having shouldered the shafts, the spirit is brought into the litter and the medium in the usual way by means of incantations, "eye-opening papers", and incense; from that moment it becomes heavy and impels the bearers to queer and unsteady careering; and as then the medium or the other fore-man allows the end of his shaft to move in the dusty stuff on the writing-table, or on the sacrificial table before the altar, the desired scrawl may be produced. In Amoy, where this method is much practised, it is called *koan lién* [1], "communication (of the spirit) with the litter".

The litter or *lién* [2], already mentioned on page 1275, is therefore an almost indispensable piece of furniture for the altar of every deity who deals in oracles. It may be described (see Plate XXI) as a box, some twenty inches square, made of wooden ribs and panels; the back is elevated, and resembles that of a chair. The litter is in the main painted red, and in many cases the front panel is elaborately carved and gilded. The image, in a little chair or on a plank, is placed against the back, and fastened thereto with a string, lest it should tumble in consequence of the unsteady motions of the bearers. These men carry the litter on their shoulders by means of two shafts, which run along the sides. Smouldering incense-sticks are stuck into the top of the front, in honour of the idol. If the litter is fitted out completely, there are inserted behind the back five thin staffs, to each of which a triangular flag is fastened, embroidered with the emblem of imperial dignity, viz. an ascending dragon which vomits a ball. The centre flag is yellow, and the others are blue, white, red, and black, to represent the Centre, East, West, South, and North, or rather, owing to the dragons, the divine Emperors who rule these great divisions of the Universe, each of whom, in his own dominion respectively, suppresses the work of the evil spectres by means of a celestial army, of which he is the Commander in Chief. The white border of the centre flag, by which this is attached to the staff, therefore bears this inscription: 東營黃帝將軍安鎮, "Generals of

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1 關輦. 2 輦.

Litter for carrying an idol.

the Yellow Emperor of the Central Army, pacify and suppress"; that of the blue one has: "Generals of the Blue Emperor of the Eastern Army, pacify and suppress"; and so on. On the reverse of these borders we read the names of the god, and those of the temple to which he and the litter belong. It goes without saying, that these standards serve to assemble around the litter the fivefold Celestial Army with all its generals, thus ensuring safety against the whole host of devils (see pp. 1058 and 1291).

The litter is not used as a vehicle for the principal image of the god of the temple, which would be far too large for it. But it merely serves for a smaller image more handy for use, called *hù sin*[1] or "secondary body", which has its place on the altar just in front of the principal one.

It is self-evident that the animation of a litter is increased to the utmost by placing the image of the god in it. Custom requires that, before doing so, the consent of the god himself is asked by means of the divining-blocks which belong to his altar.

Either empty, or with the idol in it, the litter is regularly carried to private dwellings where medical or geomantic advice is wanted. On the way thither, the four bearers move most unsteadily, lurching about, running or stopping irregularly; and at times the holy load weighs so heavily upon their shoulders, that one or two of them, even all, must sink on their knees, or have to exert themselves so much that, if it is warm, they must put off everything except their trousers. A gongman walks ahead, frightening the spectres by thumping particularly hard and rapidly, even beating a roll whenever the bearers move at a slower pace, or for some moments stand still, as if nailed to the ground. A man or boy bears an exorcising black flag which displays in white paint the Universe, represented by the T'ai-kih figure which is surrounded by the eight diagrams, as also the stars of the Great Bear, which represent the yearly rotation of Cosmos (cf. page 984). Or this flag bears a tiger, ridden by Chang Ling (page 1184), or some other first-rate exorcising charm. Should the litter suddenly lose its weight and animation, eye-opening papers are forthwith lighted and thrown up into the air, to bring back the spirit; and this magic may have to be repeated even in the house, should the shaft refuse to write.

Should the writing reveal the fact that the illness is caused by a spectre which, having been offended, is to be reconciled by a

[1] 副身.

sacrifice, the animated litter is carried abroad with the usual unsteady motions, in order to seek that spectre. It is then strange to see it push its zeal for minute researches so far as even to drive the bearers into the sea, till the water reaches their breasts. Each time when the god forces the bearers to a standstill, the accompanying relation of the patient reverently asks him whether here is the place where the spectre is; and if then the divining-blocks, which are carefully carried along in the litter, give him a denial, the bearers move on, till the god stops them anew and may answer the same question by means of the blocks, the answer ultimately being, of course, in the affirmative. Now after a few moments the god is asked whether he has successfully brought the spectre to an agreement; and when this question has been put once, twice, or oftener, till the blocks announce 'yes', he is carried back to the house of the patient, to write down by means of the shaft the terms of the agreement, which include the hour and place for the delivery of the sacrificial articles. That hour having come, the god in his litter accompanies the family to the spot where they must be presented; and this ceremony finished, both are left for some time in the dwelling, in order "to maintain there authority" (cf. page 1279), and to give, by means of the shaft or the blocks, further oracles concerning the treatment of the patient. Finally the litter and the god are fetched away for other clients.

Generally speaking, the god can exercise his oracular power through his living medium equally well by means of either his ki or his litter; therefore a description of what the two instruments can achieve would, in the main, be a repetition of our description of the operations of the *ki tông*. Thus, for instance, they are used with excellent results for the detection of dangerous objects which have been hidden somewhere inadvertently or with sorcerous purposes. The ki or the litter will then push the bearers, lurching and galloping, to some spot where the vertex or the shaft will indicate the object. It often occurs also that the god, if consulted about a patient, writes down by means of the shaft that he desires to be carried before the God of the City or of the Eastern Mountain, in order to liberate the soul of the patient, or to lodge an accusation against the demon which is the cause of the complaint. This order is followed, and in the temple the ceremonies which we have described on page 1280 are performed in front of the shrine, the spirit achieving in the deepest silence what otherwise the *ki tông* would do there with noisy ostentation. Or the ki or shaft may announce

that it is the god's will that he should be carried abroad, in order to be enabled to discover the place where the soul of the patient is kept in custody by infernal or other spectral powers, and accordingly the rite called *chʿiúng tsing-sîn* (page 1284) must be duly performed.

Such practices were a subject of Imperial attention in 1833, We learn this from a decree which was given on the 18th day of the ninth month or 30 October of that year, and which is of some importance because it proves the existence of *ki tông* clubs and their practices in other parts of the empire besides Fuhkien:

"It was reported to Us, that in Kiangsi, in the Ning-tu-cheu "country of the district of I-hwang, local swindlers of the surname "Tseu, brothers, in association with one Siao Tu-kwan, were plotting "sedition and wantonly transgressing the laws. An Imperial order "was then sent to the Governor General (of Kiangsi, Nganhwui and "Kiangsu) and to the Governor (of Kiangsi), to the effect that they "should send commissioners to that region, in order to institute "a secret examination into the case and quickly arrest the culprits. "The result was, that Tʿao Chu (the Governor General) and Cheu "Chi-khi (the Governor) reported to Us, that their commissioners had "completed the arrests. Then, as Cheu Chi-khi came to the Capital "before Our Throne after the completion of his duties, an Imperial order "was sent to Kwei Liang and Ching Hwai-king, to the effect that "they should in person direct the examination of the culprits and "the witnesses, so that by this means they might secure the arrest "of the whole number and then rigorously examine the latter also, "with intent to collect reliable testimony about the seditious plots. [1]

"Now a report has been sent to Us by Cheu Chi-khi, according "to which he had directed in person the examination and torturing "of Tseu Liang-li and Tseu Sung-li. To judge from the confessions, "they must have been cruel and perverse characters, gamblers, "swindlers, feared by everybody, so that their fellow villagers changed

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[1] 前因有人陳奏、江西宜黃縣寧都州地方有土棍鄒姓兄弟及蕭都管朋比爲奸、肆行不法。當經降旨諭令該督撫委員密速訪拏。嚴經陶澍周之琦具奏委員全行弋獲。周之琦業已陛見來京、當降旨交桂良程懷璟親提犯證、緝拏夥黨、嚴訊、聚匪橫行確據。

"their names into Liang-wang (king of Liang), and Sung-wang "(king of Sung). In their houses they worshipped a tablet of the "T'ien-kang star, before which they burned incense and humbly said "prayers; but they did not use any charms or spells at all, nor "any Buddhist sutras. In case they were bidden to cure a patient, "they agreed to assemble some members of their family, that is to "say, according to those Tseu people themselves, seven or eight "persons, or even over ten. These then shouldered a litter with the "tablet of that T'ien-kang god, armed themselves with iron tridents, "and having asked which paths or roads the patient was wont to "walk, took the same themselves with loud cries, in order to fetch "his soul. Nobody was allowed to interrupt their march, and all "who saw them exclaimed, 'Here is the T'ien-kang club, the iron "trident club!' and fled right and left. They did not themselves "call their club by these names. When then the patient became "better, he regaled them with wine and food, but they accepted "no money. Nor had Tseu Sung-li founded a new T'ien-kang associa-"tion"....[1] Of course the Son of Heaven in this decree insisted emphatically upon a diligent and rigorous investigation of this abominable criminal dealing, so that torturing might continually lead to more arrests, and total eradication of this and other associations might then be effected by infliction of severe punishment.

The litter is often used in Amoy for a practice which is called *t'ó ióh*[2], "to fetch medicines". When the god, seated in it, is brought before a patient to scribble down a recipe, the shaft may reveal

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[1] 茲據周之琦奏親提鄒良俚鄒松俚研訊。據供該犯等平日爲人强横、賭博訛詐、人皆畏懼、因名良俚松俚、是以鄉鄰稱有梁王松王綽號。家中供有天罡星神牌位、常時焚香叩禱、並無符咒經懺。遇有患病請治、約會族人、鄒皆云等七八人、或十數人不等。扛擡天罡神牌、各執鐵叉、間明病人常走道路、沿途吶喊收魂。不准行人攔道、有人遇見、都說天罡會、或說鐵叉會來了、各自躲避委。非自取會名。病愈酬謝酒飯、並不收斂錢財。匆松俚亦無設立新天罡會名目.
Shing hiun, Edicts of Süen Tsung, chapter 83.

[2] 討藥.

his wish to fetch the medicines himself which the case requires. Hereupon the bearers with their holy load are seen lurching through the streets to some apothecary's shop, which after much tarrying they enter.

A relation of the patient, who accompanies them, piously wearing his ceremonial hat, comes forward, and tells the druggist of the wish of the god and about the illness, in such terms that the wares as are usually bought in these cases may be laid out on the counter. The god is now asked by the druggist whether it is these he wants, and by means of a foreward or backward motion of the bearers he says yes or no. Rejected medicines may thus be replaced by others many times, till the god declares by means of the divining-blocks that he has picked out enough, and slowly pushes the bearers out of the shop. The man with the hat now bargains, pays, and goes home with quite a number of parcels, or even a basket full, carried by a boy.

It is not always to a druggist that the god in such cases pilots his litter-bearers. They may be pushed by him to private houses, and thus obtain some home-made medicines, or merely some tea or sugar candy. Nothing more is paid here than some kind thanks and polite bows from the man who wears the hat. And nobody will find it in his heart, by keeping his door shut to such visits, to brave the wrath of the god; besides, experience has taught sufficiently that litter-shafts, if pushed by a god, are powerful enough to burst closed doors. Backbiters say that such incursions have much too often the purpose of robbing people of precious medicines, such as jen-sen, if they are rumoured to possess some, advantage being then taken of the absence of the male inmates, because timid women rather dislike to cross the will of a deity.

On coming home, the parcels are held up one by one before the idol, to learn from the foreward or backward motions of the bearers the sequence in which they are to be prepared and consumed.

There is undoubtedly much wisdom and prudence in similarly letting the god in person select the branch which he desires for a ki with which to write his oracles. It is even as a rule the god himself who manifests by the mouth of his medium or on the writing-table his wish to be taken out "to fetch a ki", *ch'óe ki* [1]; and when on these occasions, after the usual irregular march, the bearers halt before a tree, and a member of the club successively

[1] 取乩.

points to some branches which he thinks fit for the purpose, that one is selected which the god approves by pushing his bearers into the forward slanting position. It is then to be cut off on a felicitous day and hour, with observance of the precautions and care which we have mentioned on page 1296.

CHAPTER VI.

FEMALE WU-ISM OF THE PRESENT.

Our first Chapter has set us before the fact that the wu in ancient days were of both sexes. And from our second Chapter we have learned that, since the Han dynasty, female wu are often mentioned in Chinese writings; indeed we regularly meet therein such terms as nü wu[1], "female wu"; wu pʿo[2], "wu dames"; hih pʿo[3], "hih dames"; wu fu[4], "wu wives"; and shi pʿo[5], "mistresses". We have now to see whether such women exist at present, and what is the part they play.

As far as we know, members of the female sex who perform functions like those of the *sai kong*, do not exist in Amoy or the surrounding districts. But women indulge there on a large scale in Wu-ist work of other kind, even as professionals for the sake of gain, either in their own houses, or in those of others, but exclusively in private company.

There, in the presence of a small or large number of their own sex, they act as mediums for spirits which descend into them in consequence of conjuration, eye-opening papers, incense, drumming, cymbals, and music, and which give oracles by their mouths, unintelligible but for interpretation by female experts. In such a state of possession or obsession the medium will hop and limp, supported by a woman on either side, since her tightly compressed feet make her very liable to tumble. Rattles, suspended to her body, indicate by increase or decrease of their noise the extent of her possession. So far there is not any essential difference between the work of such a woman and that of a possessed *ki tông*. The spirit which is called into her, mostly is that of *Sam kō*[6], "Third Aunt or Lady", a mysterious being who is professedly one Tszĕ-ku[7] or "Lady Tszĕ", who,

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1 女巫. 2 巫婆. 3 覡婆. 4 巫婦.
5 師婆. 6 三姑. 7 紫姑.

according to a valuable communication from Ch'en Kwah's pen, was called and consulted elsewhere in China many centuries ago. That author, who lived in the eleventh century, wrote the following lines in his interesting collection of jottings on all sorts of matters connected with the life of the common people:

"It is an old custom in the first month of the year, in the night "on which the moon is full, to receive the shen of the privy, "who is called Tszĕ-ku. This practice is not, however, strictly "confined to the first month; she may be conjured up at any time. "When I was young, I saw children in their leisure hours call her "for mere amusement. Among my own kinsmen it has come to "pass, that after having been called she refused to go away; and "as this occurred once more, they would not call her again.

"In the King yiu period (1034—1038), the family of Wang "Lun, Doctor in the Court of Sacrificial Worship, was inviting "Tszĕ-ku, when a spirit descended into one of the girls of the "female apartments, and itself said that it was a secondary consort "in the harem of the Supreme Emperor (of Heaven). That girl "thereupon was able to write literary compositions of exquisite "beauty, which even now are circulating in the world under the "title of Collectanea of the female Immortal. She wrote in several "styles, and manifested the greatest artistic skill in the use of the "pencil; but never did she write the seal characters or square "characters which are used in this world. Wang Lun being an old "friend of my father, I was conversant with his sons and younger "brothers, and thus I saw her handwriting myself.

"In that house the spirit occasionally showed its shape, and then "it was perceived that above the loins it was like an attractive woman; "but below the loins it was always veiled as by a cloud. She "could play beautifully on the lute; and when her voice chimed in, "it was so sweet and pleasant that all who listened forgot their cares. "Once somebody asked her whether she could make an excursion "with him on a cloud. She answered that she could, and lo, in "the courtyard a white cloud whirled up like a vapour. She "mounted it, but it would not bear her. Then her spirit said, "'There is some dirty mud under your shoes; put them off and "mount'. She now mounted in her stockings, and it seemed that "her silk shoes slowly stepped towards her room. On her descent "she said, 'You cannot go now; we will wait for another day'. "Afterwards the girl was married, but the spirit did not come to her "in her new home. No specially bad or good consequences resulted

"from its visits. All the written traditions concerning the latter "give many details; and what I have seen myself is no more "than roughly sketched here.

"In late years, calling Tszĕ-ku is practised extremely frequently. "As a rule, the capacity to write literary compositions, songs or "poems is thereby acquired, and I have often seen specimens which "evidenced the greatest artistic skill. Often the spirit calls itself "the Punished Immortal from P'eng-lai [1]. It understands the medical "art and divination, and can play at draughts as well as the best "hand in the realm; but in displaying spiritualistic wonders none "has ever come up to the spirit in the house of Wang Lun" [2].

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1 That is, perhaps, to say, banished from that paradise to the earth. The name of Punished Immortal, 謫仙, is in particular given to the famous scholar and poet Li Poh 李白, who lived about the sixty first years of the eighth century.

2 舊俗正月望夜迎厠神、謂之紫姑。亦不必正月、常時皆可召。予少時見小兒輩等閒則召之、以爲嬉笑。親戚間曾有召之而不肯去者、兩見有此、自後遂不敢召。

景祐中太常博士王綸家因迎紫姑、有神降其閨女、自稱上帝後宮諸女。能文章頗清麗、今謂之女仙集、行于世。其書有數體、甚有筆力、然皆非世間篆隸。綸與先君有舊、予與其子弟遊、親見其筆迹。

其家亦時見其形、但自腰以上見之乃好女子、其下常爲雲氣所擁。善鼓箏、音調凄婉、聽者忘倦。嘗其女曰、能乘雲與我遊乎。女子許之、乃自其庭中涌白雲如蒸。女子踐之、雲不能載。神曰、汝履下有穢土、可去履而登。女子乃韈而登、如履縉絮冉冉至屋。復下曰、汝未可往、更期異日。後女子嫁、其神乃不至其家。了無禍福。爲之傳記者甚詳、此予自見者粗志于此。

近歲迎紫姑者極多。大率多能文章歌詩、有極工者予屢見之。多自稱蓬萊謫仙。醫卜無所不能、甚與國手爲敵、然其靈異顯著無如王綸家者. *Mung khi pih t'an*, chapter 21, ll. 5 *seq.*

Every one of our readers, independently of Ch'en Kwah's authority, will be able to decide for himself what is to be believed or disbelieved of that writer's assertions; but credit can hardly be refused to his statement that, in his time, possessed or inspired ladies of the best families produced screeds which proved convertible into literary work worth seeing and showing, and that they displayed medical and divining capacities. In that age, consultation of the goddess Tszĕ-ku on the 15th day of the first month of the year was already an old custom, for we read in the book of Annual Customs in King and Ch'u, professedly written in the sixth century (cf. page 643), this statement: "On the 15th of the first month, in "the evening, they receive Tszĕ-ku, in order to divine about the "cultivation of silk and mulberry during the coming season, and "about all other matters." [1] This passage is usually printed with the following additions: "Liu King-shuh's work, entitled *I yuen* "(see page 118), states that Tszĕ-ku was somebody's secondary wife, "of whom the principal wife was jealous, whence she died in "consequence of her fury on the 15th day of the first month. The "people then made a body for her, and called her (soul) into it, "using this incantation: 'Tszĕ-szĕ (the husband) is absent, and Mrs. "Ts'ao (the principal wife) has gone; inferior lady, come forth'. "Thus they receive her at the privy or the pig-stye, seize the image, "and when they feel that its weight has increased, the spirit "has come.

"One Meng, in P'ing-yuen, had received her on that day, but "the image bored through the house and was gone. Hence the "image was thenceforth dressed with rags.

"The *T'ung lan* says, that when a daughter of the emperor Ti "kuh (25th cent. B. C.) was dying, she declared that, having been "fond of music during her life, she might be called by means of "music in the first month; — this statement too bears upon the "subject. People say that she will not come in the stye or privy "unless silence prevails there. The Book on the various Natural "Phenomena concerning Tszĕ-ku says, that the privy-god is called the "emperor Heu. The *I yuen* relates, that T'ao Khan (a grandee of "the third and fourth centuries; Book I, p. 981), while using the "privy, saw a man, who told him that he was that emperor. He "wore a single dress and a flat cap, and said to Khan, 'Do not

[1] 正月十五日其夕迎紫姑以卜將來蠶桑、并占衆事. *King Ch'u sui-shi ki.*

"speak of me for three years; you may not speak of your superiors'.
"Is it the spirit of that emperor which possesses Tszĕ-ku and speaks
"by her?" [1]

It is clear enough from these lines, written by Chinese hands, that the origin of Tszĕ-ku and her consultation is very uncertain and fabulous, and probably is lost for ever in the night of time. Nor are doubts dissolved by P'ing Ying-king, who in his large work on regularly recurring annual customs and rites, ancient and modern, tells us, "that according to the Description of Miracles
"displayed, Tszĕ-ku was a native of Lai-yang (in Shantung), whose
"surname was Ho; her personal name was Mei, and her name of
"maturity Li-khing. Li King of Sheu-yang (in Shansi) married her
"as a secondary consort; but his principal wife was so jealous that
"she secretly murdered her in a privy on the 15th day of the first
"month. The Emperor of Heaven took compassion on her, and
"invested her with the dignity of privy-goddess; and hence it is
"that people make a body for her, and call her in the privy that
"night with presentation of a sacrifice, with the purpose of obtaining
"oracles on all sorts of matters. She is commonly called San-ku
"(or in Amoy *Sam kọ*, see page 1323) or Third Lady. [2]

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[1] 按劉敬叔異苑云、紫姑本人家妾、爲大婦所妬、正月十五日感激而死。故世人作其形迎之、呪云、子胥不在、云是其壻、曹夫人已行、云是其姑、小姑可出。於厠邊或豬欄邊迎之、捉之、覺重是神來也.

平原孟氏嘗以此日迎之、遂穿屋而去。自爾著以敗衣蓋爲此也.

洞覽云、帝嚳女將死、云生平好樂、至正月可以見迎、又其事也。俗云、溷厠之間必須靜然後至。紫姑雜五行書、厠神名後帝。異苑云、陶侃如厠見人、自云後帝。著單衣、平上幘、謂侃曰、三年莫說、貴不可言。將後帝之靈憑紫姑而言乎.

[2] 顯異錄云、紫姑萊陽人、姓何、名媚、字麗卿。壽陽李景納爲妾、其妻妬之、正月十五陰殺之於厠中。天帝憫之、命爲厠神、故世人作其形、夜於厠間迎祀以占衆事。俗呼爲三姑。

"On the 15th day of the first month the women take a straining-
"ladle (for lifting out boiled food), and surreptitiously take away
"a door-god (painted on paper), in order to paste it on that ladle;
"and they draw a human face thereon, and make a body of willow
"branches to it, which they dress with clothes. Then they join in
"calling her, and when her spirit has come, the puppet can make
"obeisance, and is found to be heavy when lifted up. It was a
"popular custom in the T'ang epoch on the night of the 15th
"of the first month to receive the spirit of Ts'ih-ku, who was one
"lady Ts'ih (戚) of the Han dynasty, who perished in a privy;
"hence it is, that those who call her, generally visit the privy for
"this purpose. The people now call her Ts'ih-ku (七姑, Seventh
"Lady), because of the similarity of the sound of the two words" [1].

The night of the full moon of the first month, which, according to these lines, is devoted so especially to the consultation of Tszĕ-ku, is known as the Festival of Lanterns, it being customary on that night to light paper lanterns in great numbers. This circumstance might suggest a connection of that goddess with lunar worship, or even that she is the Goddess of the Moon; but we have not discovered any proofs of this. We have learned on page 1310, that in the T'ang epoch the same fifteenth day or night was devoted to obtaining oracles from rice-trays dressed with clothes; and there is accordingly little or no doubt that the divinity who descended into those household ustensils was Tszĕ-ku. We further find the following extracts in P'ing Ying-king's book: "The people of Wu say,
"that in the first month all plants are animated, and at the period
"of lanterns they take measures for obtaining oracles in the temples
"by way of amusement. This is done principally by the female slaves.
"To this end they may draw sounding oracles from wicker trays,
"brooms, bamboo, rushes, or other things of the kind. If they wish to
"consult the Tray Lady, they take a basket or tray, stick a chopstick
"into it, cover it with a cloth or veil, and call the Lady; and
"when she comes, they rest the object by the two edges on both
"hands, and it can then write characters, or even beat people;

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[1] 正月十五日羣女以笊籬、偷門神糊於上、畫成人面、以柳枝爲身、以衣覆之。相和以請之、神來卽能拜、以扶之則重。唐俗元宵請戚姑之神、蓋漢之戚夫人死於厠、姑凡請者詣厠請之。今俗稱七姑、音近是也. *Yueh ling kwang i*, ch. 5, ll. 16 and 18.

"or it merely moves up and down, answering to the khotows "of the diviner. If they use the Broom Lady, they wind a petticoat "around an old broom for divination; and when the Lady is in it, "it can give oracles by upright or prone positions.

"Or a small bamboo is split into two halves, and two men, "each holding a chopstick, support therewith the ends of these "halves, so that they lie (parallel) like the shafts of a sedan chair. "Paper money is then burned, while prayers are addressed to the "spirit; and when this has come, its oracles consist in the two "halves nearing and touching each other or knocking against each "other, the number of times this happens deciding the answer to "the questions about which oracles are desired. Sometimes the spirit "may rap inside the halves, and this is called the 'unbudding'. "Consultation of the Rush Lady is performed in the same way" [1].

The goddess accordingly bears a variety of names, corresponding also to the objects by means of which she is consulted. In Amoy especially young female candidates for marriage worship her, either in their rooms, or on the 15th day of the first month by the privy. They then present to her some petty sacrificial offerings, adding an embroidered shoe, for, as the tradition asserts, she is one-footed, the wicked chief wife of her husband having hacked off her other foot before smothering her in the privy. The purpose of this worship is that they may marry good husbands; indeed, the goddess must be glad to protect her devotees from her own matrimonial ill fate. Evidently there is a connection between these things and the strange custom of rude youths of the lower class amusing themselves in the evening of the Lantern Festival with assaults on the low adobe or masonry walls which surround the public privies.

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[1] 吳俗謂、正月百草俱靈、故于燈時備諸祠卜之戲。然多婢子輩爲之。故于箕帚竹葦之類皆能響卜。如箕姑則以箸箕、插筯、蒙以巾帕、請之、至則兩手托其脇、能寫字、能擊人、或但舂舉、以應卜者所叩。又帚姑以敝帚繫裙以卜、至則能起臥以占事。

以小竹剖爲兩、二人各一筯對擡兩端、相向如舁輿狀。爇楮禱之、神至、以雙篾中合相戛爲兆、惟人所占以數多寡爲驗。或能鼓其中、謂之開花也。葦姑亦同. Chapter 5, l. 16.

They do this merely on the theory which is expressed by this saying, *chᶜia-tó sái-hák chᶜiúⁿᵍ, pat jít tsᶜoā hó tsu-niúⁿᵍ* [1], "push down a privy-wall and some day you will marry a good wife". Indeed, that practice may open access to brides who, being just in the very act of sacrificing to the goddess, are thereby ensuring matrimonial felicity.

Probably there is no reason for doubting, that female mediums who give oracular advice in a state of possession, especially with regard to the sick, exist in various parts of China. Among his tales, so generally in the hands of the reading and learned public, Sung Lin-pᶜo has one which intimates, that such women are common in the north.

"In Tsi (Shantung) it is customary in cases of illness among the "people to consult spirits (shen) in the female apartments. An old "wu is hired, who, playing a tambourine which consists of an iron "ring with one skin, dances and makes grimaces, and is called the "dancing spirit. But this practice flourishes specially in the capital "of the empire, where even young married women in respectable "families perform it from time to time. In the hall of the house "they place on the table stands which are filled with meat, and goblets "full of spirits, and they light large candles, so that it is clearer "there than in the daytime; then the woman, tucking up her "petticoat, draws up one leg and hops like a shang-yang [2], "while two grasp her arms, and support her on either side. She babbles "in a monotonous, tedious way, now in a sing song, now as if "uttering conjurations, now with a flow of words, then with only "a few, without any modulation or tune. Meanwhile drums are "wildly banged in the apartment, so that their thunder stuns "one, and in their noise the words which come from her opening "and closing lips are far from distinct. In the end she droops her "head, looks askance, and wants help to stand erect; but for her "supporters she would tumble. But suddenly she stretches out her "neck and jumps one or two feet into the air, and all the women "in the apartment shiver and regard her with terror; thereupon "she exclaims, 'The ancestor comes and eats!'

"Now they blow out the lights, so that it is pitch dark every-"where. Silent the bystanders stand in the dark, and speak not a

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[1] 推倒屎礨墻、別日娶好妻娘.

2 A fabulous one-legged bird, which, according to the *Khung-tszĕ kia yü* (chapter III, 辯政), appeared in the time Confucius as a harbinger of rain.

"word to each other; indeed, owing to the confused noise, nothing "they might say would be understood. After a while they hear "the woman mention with a shrill voice the (deceased) father or "mother-in-law, or the husband or sister-in-law, by the name by "which he or she was familiarly known, this being a sign to the "whole company to re-light the candles. With out-stretched necks "they now ask the medium whether good or evil is to be expected, and "in the mean time they inspect the goblets, baskets and cups, to find "them altogether emptied; and they try to read on her face whether "the spirit is contented or not; and, full of respect, they address a "series of questions to her, which she answers as readily as an echo.

"Once there was at the meeting a woman who in her heart "disapproved of such goings on. The ghost itself perceived it, and "the medium, pointing her out with her finger, said, 'She is "mocking at me; that is very irreverent; I will pull off your "nether garments'; and lo, the woman found herself completely in "a state of nature, and thereupon saw her clothes hanging on a "tree outside the gatc of the house.[1]

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[1] 濟俗民間有病者、閨中以神卜。倩老巫、擊鐵環單面鼓、婆娑作態、名曰跳神。而此俗都中尤盛、良家少婦時自爲之。堂中肉於架、酒於盆、盛設几上、燒巨燭、明於晝、婦束短幅裙、屈一足作商羊舞、兩人捉臂、左右扶掖之。婦剌剌瑣絮、似歌又似祝字、多寡參差、無律帶腔。室數鼓亂撾、如雷蓬蓬聒人耳、婦吻闢翕雜鼓聲不甚辨了。既首垂、目斜睨、立全須人、失扶則仆。旋忽伸頸巨躍、離地尺有咫、室中諸女子凜然愕顧、曰、祖宗來喫食矣。

便一噓吹燈滅、內外冥黑。人慄息立暗中、無敢交一語、語亦不得聞、聲亂也。食頃聞婦厲聲呼翁姑及夫嫂小字、始共爇燭。傴僂問休咎、視尊中盎中案中都復空空、望顏色察瞋喜、肅肅羅問之、答若響。

中有腹誹者。神已知、便指某姍笑我、大不敬、將褫汝袴、誹者自顧瑩然已裸、輒於門外樹頭覓得之。

"Manchu women respect and employ such women with peculiar "fervour. The slightest uncertainty which they feel is sure to make "them recur to these persons for a solution. Sometimes the medium "masks herself, and, riding on a counterfeit tiger or horse, dances "on the bed (of the patient) with a long lance. She is then called "the god on the jumping tiger; the antics of her horse or tiger "represent majesty or rage. With a sepulchral voice she utters confused "sounds. Some call this practice the great altar of Kwan and Chang [1], "but it has more names beside this one. Her majesty and fury call "forth dismay and terror (among the spectres), but is greatly cal- "culated to frighten men as well. Any bold character, who makes a "hole in the (paper) window to peep through, must expect a prick "of her lance through the window in his hat, so that it is drawn "into the room. The whole family, mothers, daughters-in-law and "sisters, move around her at a slow pace like a row of geese, thinking "of nothing else, and every bone in their bodies being interested "in her." [2]

It is then ghosts of deceased relations, as well as spirits of gods, such as Kwan-ti, which through such mediums give advice and foretell, and expel demons. Calling up spirits of the dead for the purpose of such psychomancy is a very common practice among the female sex in Amoy. It is called there *khan bŏng* [3], "to bring up the dead", or *chʿē sín* [4], "to seek ghosts". The mediums, mostly professionals, there go by the name of *ang í* [5], in which the term *í*, though actually meaning a maternal aunt, wife's sister, or maternal female cousin, evidently stands as a polite epithet, while *ang*, the main component, is the local form of wang, by which word the *Li ki* denotes the sick or deformed persons by whom the ruler Muh wished to produce rain by placing them in the scorching sun (see p. 1193).

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1 Kwan Yü or Kwan-ti, and Chang Fei 張飛, another hero of the epoch of the Three Kingdoms.

2 滿洲婦女奉事尤虔。小有疑必以決。時嚴妝、騎假虎馬、執長兵舞榻上。名曰跳虎神、馬虎勢作威怒。尸者聲傖儜。或言關張元壇、不一號。赫氣慘凜、尤能畏怖人。有丈夫穴窗來窺、輒被長兵破窗刺帽挑入去。一家媼媳姊娣森森蹜蹜雁行立、無歧念、無懈骨. *Liao-tsai chi i*, chapter 11, 跳神.

3 牽亡. 4 尋神. 5 猗姨.

Many *ang î* are blind; but it is averred that it is just their lack of eye-sight that affords them *clairvoyance*.

For the consultation of these mediums the women sometimes organize conferences; and it is even customary in many families to interrogate through them every deceased relation at least once, not long after his demise, principally with the object of learning whether his condition is tolerable, or needs improvement by means of religious work. The session is then mostly held in the *t'iaⁿ* or main apartment, at the domestic altar, so that every male or female inmate is free to attend it. Not seldom, however, they meet in the private female rooms, should the presence of the stronger sex not be desired. Scepticism exercises an obstructive effect on spiritualism, and of scepticism manfolk are the only representatives; indeed, *lí teh khan bóng*, "you are bringing up the dead", is among them a common expression almost equivalent to "you are telling either idle tales or falsehoods".

An auspicious day is selected for the conference; but for which the spirit would not appear. The apartment is swept and watered, because spirits have an aversion from dirt and dust. To allure the ghost, burning incense with some sacrificial food and dainties are set out on the altar, or, should the conference be in a secluded room, on an ordinary table. In the latter case, when the medium has come, it is necessary for one of the women to go to the altar. Having lighted there two candles and three incense-sticks, she invites the ghost to leave its tablet and follow her. Then, with the incense between her fingers, she slowly walks back into the room, and plants the sticks in a bowl or cup with some uncooked rice, which stands upon the table among the sacrificial dainties.

Meanwhile the women have carefully removed all classical books and almanacks, as they have a notion of the fact that orthodox articles naturally thwart heterodox Wu-ist practice. Not until this has been done can the medium set about her work. She chants conjurations in a low voice, bowing, even prostrating herself from time to time; she thrums a lute, or with one stick beats a drum, fixed on a handle which she holds in her left hand; and very often the effect of her invocations is stimulated by a loud noise of drums resting on stands, which some women beat. This monotonous work in many cases lasts a long time; but in the end the arrival of the ghost is manifest from convulsions of the medium, rocking motions of her body, and an outburst of perspiration. Two women hasten to support her, and place her in a chair, where she falls into

a state of distraction or sleep, her arms resting on the table. Now a black veil is cast over her head, and in order to cause the interview to last long, they plant a needle in her hair, from the eye of which a *long* thread hangs down on the floor. This mesmeric state, in which her mind is deemed to be strictly occupied with the ghost, enables her to answer the questions of the bystanders.

As a rule, the first thing they ask is how the ghost looks with which she is in contact now, and what dress it wears. For a few moments she remains motionless, but on a sudden she shivers, rocks on her seat, drums the table nervously with her hands, or with a small lump of wood which she clasps between her fingers, and something like an answer comes from her lips. Should this not tally with the age, countenance or grave-clothes of the deceased, she falls asleep again and seeks another soul, the end being that the women, some with symptoms of an affectionate weeping fit, declare that she has hit upon the right one.

The questions now follow each other rapidly. The ghost through the mouth of the medium tells about its condition, and about the means by which the relations may improve this, and even effect total redemption from suffering. It tells whether the sacrifices, presented to it, use to reach it safe and complete, and what sorts of things it likes best and wants most. Counsel is asked on domestic matters, and the answers are given by the medium either with an outburst of nervous excitement as described, marking the return of her soul which has been out for a while, or placidly, in a slow, measured voice, the onlookers as best they can interpreting what she says. Now and then the medium holds whispered monologues, meaning conversations with the ghost. It is unnecessary to say, that her words are no less ambiguous than is usual with oracular language. She has, moreover, a terminology of her own, calling, for instance, the ghost *péh-hoe kiáng* [1] or "white-flower child" if it is that of a son, and *âng-hoe kiáng* [2] or "red-flower child" if that of a daughter.

And likewise, as at consultations of spirits and gods (cf. p. 1299), the answers very often do not at all fit the questions. The medium will *e.g.*, though nothing has been asked concerning the appetite of the ancestor, declare that it desires to eat such-and-such a thing; which is then to be fetched at once from the kitchen, or even from a shop, and placed upon the sacrificial table. Or quite unexpectedly

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[1] 白花囝. [2] 紅花囝.

exhortations may be uttered, rebukes, even invectives, and unasked advice on matters belonging to the domain of ethics or religion, tending to save the kinsfolk from straying outright into hell. Thus the medium evidently helps herself whenever she finds herself perplexed by a question. The bystanders, however, explain such irrelevant answers by a lack of seriousness on the part of the consultants, spirits being averse from giving answers to insincere questions, and rather apt to be nettled and silenced by the same. Moreover, it is deemed to be impossible for a ghost to give any reliable oracles if the questioners do not fix their thoughts upon it with great intensity. This conviction apparently is an open confession that it is stress of imagination which calls up the ghost. Apparitions, evoked by thought, may then be placed on the same level as apparitions evoked by dreaming (cf. pp. 110 *sqq.*); in either case they are professedly realities. Is it then so very strange, that participants in a spiritualistic conference are deeply impressed by the presence of their beloved dead, pant and sob, and even bathe their faces in tears?

On a sudden the medium shivers and awakes, and raising herself up, declares that the ghost has gone. She herself, or, if she is blind, the child which has come along with her, forthwith pockets the rice which is in the bowl with the incense-sticks, doing so every time another soul has been fetched from the domestic altar and interrogated. The conference finished, she demands her pay, not seldom in an imperious, querulous voice, and departs.

The various phases in the condition of the medium during the conference are, of course, taken by the onlookers for the several moments of her connection with the other world. Yet we remain entitled to consider them to be symptoms of psychical aberration and nervous affection. Her spasms and convulsions pass for possession, either by the ghost which is consulted, or by the spirit with which she usually has intercourse, and which thus imparts to her the faculty of second sight by which she sees that ghost. And her mesmeric fits confessedly are the moments when her soul leaves her, in order to visit the other world, there to see the ghost and speak with it. Her whispering lips indicate conversation with her spirit, or with the ghost which is consulted. It may be asked, why, since this ghost dwells in its tablet on the altar, her soul should travel to the other world to see it. We can give no answer.

The reality of that excursion is testified by the following incantation, used to send her soul away: "Sister San-ku, Lady Szĕ-ku,

"guide me, if you please, to the region of the Yin. What do I "want there in the region of the Yin? I want to search there for "a near relation of mine. When I have found him, I want to "speak a few words with him; quickly then lead me back, I pray, "to the region of the Yang." [1]

In Kwangtung, females are accustomed to have their souls guided into Hades by San-ku (called *Sam kọ* in Amoy, see p. 1323) and by one Szĕ-ku or Fourth Lady, from the first to the twentieth day of the eighth month. Several women, who desire to become the mediums in the performance, sit around a table with their heads resting on their arms and hands, in such a manner that their faces are hidden, while other women wave incense-sticks over them, and chant the following invocation: "Sister San-ku, lady Szĕ-ku, whose "high reputation mankind vaunts, we sows, creeping on all fours "with quivering tails, desire to descend into the domain of the "Yin. But there are a thousand roads descending into that region; "therefore let us go in search of souls by the side road of the "Immortals, and find there our kinsmen, that we may speak with "them; and when we have finished our interview, let us return to "the region of the Yang. If our kinsmen are there, let us find "them; if they are not there, let us tell about the flowers that "grow there. Pray lady San(-ku), conduct us hence, and pray Szĕ-ku, "conduct us thence." [2]

While under this spell, the women sing of the sights they see, and the friends they meet in the lower world. If they are not fortunate enough to meet with friends, they roam through the park, guided by the goddess Hwa-pᵉo [3], "the Lady of the Flowers", or her assistants, and foretell future events, examining the plants.

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[1] 三姑姊、四姑娘、請爾引我到陰方。入到陰方有何事。卑來尋索我親人。尋了親人講句話、轉求送我早還陽. Eitel, in Notes and Queries on China and Japan, II, page 20.

[2] 三姑姐、四夫人、人傳三姐好名聲、猪母手行脚擺尾落陰司。落到陰司地府千條路、邊條仙路去尋魂、尋到親人對親講、講完說話轉還陽。有親有戚尋親戚、無親無戚說花文。有勞三姐帶佢去、有勞四姑帶佢回.

[3] 花婆.

There is indeed in the nether world a garden, in which every living person has a representative plant with his name written on the pot in which it grows. If a plant flourishes, the person it represents prospers; if it dies, the person typified dies also. When these plants blossom, white is emblematic of sons, and red of daughters. [1]

That somnambulants, who profess to visit the nether world, are common, may be concluded from the fact that Sui Yuen has selected them as a topic for one of his instructive folk-lore tales. "In Kiang-ning (Nanking) a certain boy of the clan Liu, seven "years old, had red eruptions on his scrotum, which medical drugs "could not cure. In their neighbourhood the woman Jiao performed "the function of messenger of the Governor of the lower world. In "her menstrual periods, when she could not share her husband's "bed, she refused to eat or drink, and behaved as if deranged in "mind. Liu's mother bade her go to the Governor of the lower "world and obtain information (about the disease of her son). In "three days she came back, and reported as follows: 'his condition "is not dangerous; in his former existence, this second son of yours "was fond of frogs, of which he skinned and killed so large quanti- "ties that the now living generation of those animals assembles and "bites him in revenge. Go to the spot where Liu Ming, the General, "abides; burn incense there and pray to him, and your patient "will no longer be distressed by them'. Her advice was followed, "and the boy was really cured. [2]

"One day, the woman Jiao awoke after having been asleep for "two days and nights. Bathed in perspiration, she snored and "gasped incessantly. Her sister-in-law asked her what was the "matter. 'That A. B.', she answered, 'our neighbour's wife, that "execrable woman, is hard to overpower; the king of the nether world "ordered me to arrest her, but I did not expect to find her just

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1 W. Stanton, in China Review, XV, page 124.

2 江甯劉某年七歲、腎囊紅腫、醫藥罔效。鄰有饒氏婦、當陰司差役之事。到期便與夫異牀而寢、不飲不食、若痴迷者。劉母託往陰司一查。去三日來報曰、無妨也、二郎前世好食田雞、剝殺太多、故今世群雞來嚙、相與報仇。只須向劉猛將軍處、燒香求禱、便可無恙。如其言、子疾果痊。

"after her death strong enough to resist me so often; however "her vigour happily relaxed; I could then take off the swaddling "bands from my feet, handcuff her therewith, and bring her hither'. "'Where is she now?' the sister-in-law asked. 'There on the Sterculia "tree outside the window', was the answer. The sister went to see, "but discovered nothing else than a blue fly, bound with a hair. "She caught this insect, and put it into her sewing-box.

"Not long after, she heard the woman Jiao yell and cry in her "bed. After a long while she regained consciousness, and said. "'Sister, without willing it you have brought down upon me the "greatest woe; the Governor of the nether world has severely "chastised me with thirty blows with a bamboo lath because I "caught that woman and did not deliver her up to him; he has "now fixed a term for me to arrest her a second time; give me "back my blue fly immediately, lest I be flogged again.' And the "sister in point of fact saw the marks of the lath on her rump, "and deeply regretted her deed. She gave her the blue fly; and "Mrs. Jiao having put it into her mouth, fell asleep. Thenceforth "she was calm and quiet. But never again would she go to "the Governor of the lower world to fetch information for other "people." [1]

There are in Amoy a number of *ang î*, who, in the exercise of their profession, employ a spirit which they carry with them in a very small image or puppet, concealed in the bosom or sleeve. Many of

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[1] 一日者饒氏睡兩日夜方醒。醒後滿身流汗、口呿喘不已。其嫂問故、曰鄰婦某氏兇惡難捉、冥王差我拘拏、不料他臨死尚强有力、與我格鬬多時、幸虧、我解下纏足布、捆縛其手、纔得牽來。嫂問、現在何處、曰、在窗外梧桐樹上。嫂往視之、見無別物只頭髮拴一蒼蠅。嫂戲取蠅、夾入針線箱中。

未幾聞饒氏在牀上有呼號聲。良久乃蘇、曰、嫂爲戲太虐、陰司因我拏某婦不到、重責三十板、勒限再拏、嫂速還我蒼蠅、以免再責。嫂視其臀果有杖痕、始大悔。取蒼蠅付之、饒氏取含口中睡去。遂亦平靜。自此不肯替人間查陰司事矣. *Tszĕ puh yü*, chapter 4.

their clients think that it is on account of this instrument that they are called *ang î*, a puppet being called *ang* in the Amoy vernacular. But this opinion is evidently not correct (see page 1332).

This animated puppet is of peach or willow wood, which, as we need not say again, is peculiarly imbued with shen or spirituality. When the *ang î* wants to make one, she furtively conceals a small piece of that wood under or by the sill of a pregnant woman's house, and thereupon assiduously operates with spells; the effect being, that as the woman passes frequently over the sill, somewhat of the vitality of her fœtus is instilled into the wood. But all that time the future mother remains unaware of the foul witchery, as else she would counteract its effect by wearing a protecting charm, or by uttering counter-spells. And when her child is born, the *ang î* takes the wood away. Then, while pronouncing suitable spells, she carves it to a likeness of the baby, being particularly careful to let it have the distinguishing sexual organ. She thereupon preserves it carefully, until the baby can speak. Her next work then is, to hide the likeness somewhere on or behind an altar, so that a *sai kong* or other priest, while performing sacrificial rites, can unwittingly pronounce over it his conjurations for bringing spirits and gods to the spot; indeed, by the irresistible influence of those formulæ the soul of the baby is charmed into the puppet. The baby, if its soul is thus stolen in its entirety, thereupon dies; or if only a part of it is removed, incurs a serious bodily or mental complaint. And since that moment, the puppet, regularly exposed by the *ang î* to nocturnal dew, lest it may dry up and thereby lose its animation, is in her hands a dangerous instrument for sorcery (cf. pp. 908 *sqq*), and, moreover, an excellent psychomantic implement.

Indeed, carrying it in her sleeve, or in her dress somewhere close to her stomach, she visits clients, and under inspiration of the soul of the puppet while it visits the other world, answers questions which are put, or lets that soul itself speak. Evidently then there are ventriloquists among the *ang î*. It stands to reason, that men of virtue, and good Confucianists in particular, despise and decry such murderous witches. No doubt they must ultimately be punished with poverty, sterility, and untimely death, these misfortunes being the opposites of the three great blessings which Heaven is sure to bestow upon the good, to wit: wealth, sons, and length of life [1].

[1] 財子壽.

Indeed, their work is black sorcery by means of "subdued spirits", (cf. page 887), though in a milder form, inasmuch as they do not compel the spirit to do evil; but certainly also they are guilty of the crime of "drawing out or lifting out life" (see p. 886). Time may have been when baby souls for such oracular work were obtained by actually drawing fœtuses out of wombs, that is to say, by committing the heinous crime of "life-plucking". This is suggested to us by the following narrative from the early part of the fourteenth century:

"In the Kih-ngan district (in Kiangsi pr.?), within the precincts "of a village, a pregnant woman lived, who every day had to take "food to her husband in the field, and to this end took a road "winding past a temple which was shaded by trees. A countryman, "diviner by profession, who was stationed before that building, seeing "her pass every day, spoke to her, and thus gradually they came to "be on good terms. One day, as she passed again, he called her, "saying, 'I have fried flour-balls to-day; come and have some'. And "she followed him into the temple to a quiet spot. 'Your belly is "very big', he said laughingly, 'to be sure, you are going to have "twins'. 'How can you make out that?' asked the woman. 'Put "out your tongue, and I shall even see from it of what sex they "are'. And the woman put out her tongue; but he hooked it with "something, so that she could not give a sound. Now he ripped "up her belly, and in fact there were twins in it; he cut her body "into pieces, cooked them for a sacrifice for certain shen, and "kept the twins over the fire till they were quite dry, in order to "use them as foretelling shen of speaking boys.

"That evening the family of the woman sought for her in vain. "And old man in the village then told them that she regularly "was conversant with that diviner, so that they might be having "illicit commerce now. They entered the temple to surprise them, "and found all the parts of her body. They arrested the man, and "delivered him to the magistrate in the district city. Heterodox "people consider twins to possess spiritual power (ling) to an "amount to which a single fœtus can not come up".[1]

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[1] 吉安縣村落間有孕婦、日饁其夫於田間、每取道自叢祠之側以往。祠前有野人、以卜爲業、日見其往、因扣之、情寖洽。一日婦過之、卜者招之、曰、今日作飣餖、可來共食。婦人就之、同入

Much more, of course, might be written on the subject of Wu-ism in its several phases. Investigation in different parts of China would certainly tend to increase considerably our knowledge of this main branch of oriental Religion, representing in particular its Animism, Spiritualism, and Soothsaying, as also its Magic, black and white. From time to time we shall have to touch upon the subject anew in producing other sketches from China's religious life.

廟中一僻靜處。笑曰、汝腹甚大、必生雙子也。婦曰、汝何從知之。曰、可伸舌出、看可驗男女。婦卽吐舌、爲其人以物鉤之、遂不可作聲。遂刳其腹、果有孿子、因分其屍、烹以祀神、且以孿子炙作腊、爲鳴童預報之神。

至晚婦家尋覓不見。偶有村翁云、其婦每與卜者有往來之迹、疑其爲姦。遂入廟捕之、悉得其屍。幷獲其人、解之縣中。蓋左道者以雙子胎爲靈、單乃所不及也. *Kwei sin tsah shih*, quoted in T S, section 藝術, chapter 564.

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